The Dissertation Committee for Jason Robert Leubner
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Renaissance Lyric, Architectural Poetics,

and the Monuments of English Verse

Committee:

Frank Whigham, Supervisor

Wayne Rebhorn, Co-Supervisor

Douglas Bruster

J. K. Barret

Marc Bizer

Renaissance Lyric, Architectural Poetics, and the Monuments of English Verse

by

Jason Robert Leubner, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2012

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is the product of some wonderful years spent at The University of Texas at Austin, and I have a sense of immense gratitude for all the support I received here. My debts run deepest to Frank Whigham and Wayne Rebhorn, the directors of my dissertation. In addition to their careful and constructive criticism of all my work, they provided the steady encouragement and sound guidance that I needed from the moment I arrived at UT, and they will always remain close to my heart. I have also benefited from the enormous expertise of Doug Bruster and J. K. Barret, who always pushed me to reimagine my work in more expansive terms—I can only hope to pull off such a feat in later iterations of the project. I was fortunate to have met Marc Bizer early on in my time at UT, as he helped to shape my thinking about Du Bellay and pique my interest in English Renaissance translations of French poets. For all their love and intellectual energy, the close friends I have made over the years have proved indispensible. In particular, I wish to thank Kathleen Adams, Emily Bloom, Pearl Brilmyer, Naminata Diabate, Greg Foran, Louisa Hall, Molly Hardy, Brooke Hunter, Matt King, Miguel Santos-Neves, and Dustin Stewart, as well as all the Houndstooth Coffee baristas for injecting some much needed levity into the proceedings . Finally, I am deeply grateful to my parents Ray and Kathy, my brother Ben, and my sister Marilyn—their immeasurable support made all the difference in the world.

Renaissance Lyric, Architectural Poetics, and the Monuments of English Verse

Jason Robert Leubner, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Supervisors: Frank Whigham and Wayne Rebhorn

My dissertation revises our assumptions about the Renaissance commonplace that poetic monuments last longer than marble ones. We tend to understand the commonplace as being about the materiality of artistic media and thus the comparative durability of text and stone. In contrast, I argue that English Renaissance poets and theorists treat the monument of verse as a space where their hopes for the poem's future converge with broader cultural concerns about the reception of the ancient past and the place of English vernacular poetry within the hierarchy of classical and contemporary European letters. In Renaissance poetics manuals, authors appropriate a newly classicizing architectural vocabulary to communicate confidence in the lasting power of English poetic structures. Through their use of architectural metaphors, they defend their vernacular against charges of vulgar barbarism and promote the civilizing potential of English verse. Yet if lyric poets also turn to architectural metaphors to make claims about poetry's enduring quality, they simultaneously disclose a deep unease about the perils of textual transmission.

Indeed, monumentalizing conceits often appear most powerfully in poetic genres predicated on failed hopes and frustrated desires, that is, in the sonnet sequences and complaints of Edmund Spenser, Samuel Daniel, and William Shakespeare. In acknowledging the fragility of the textual and architectural remains of antiquity, lyric poets from Spenser forward consider their own textual futures with an entirely new sense of urgency. I argue, however, that their unease about the future of their art has as much to do with the genres in which they write and their suspicions about the shifting reading practices of future audiences as it does with the material vulnerability of the medium that transmits that art. In the sonnet sequence in particular, lyric poets who monumentalize their beloved partake in—and anxiously question—early modern practices of constructing funeral monuments for the living. I argue that these poets' fantasy of entombing those who are still in the prime of their lives turns out to be less about a future rebirth than an obsessive, premature preparation for death.

Table of Contents

Introduction

At a structurally pivotal point in the narrative of the *Rime sparse*, Petrarch announces the death of his beloved Laura, eulogizing her as possessing a "Regal soul, [most] worthy of empire if [she] had not come down among us so late" (*Alma real dignissima d'impero / se non fossi fra noi scesa sì tardo!*).[1] For Petrarch, everything about Laura exudes loveliness, beauty, and grace, but these lines about her continuity with empire shed a different light on the qualities he ascribes to her. Like the Latin language, Petrarch hints, Laura's ability to humble and subdue through speech civilizes those whose minds are harsh and savage and has a power to raise up to valiance those who are base (267.3-4; *Oimè il parlar ch' ogni aspro ingegno et fero / facevi umile ed ogni uom vil, gagliardo!*). Yet the primary concern of the poem is not to record Laura's continuities with past empire but to mark a definitive separation in the relationship between beloved and lover, ancient past and Renaissance present. Indeed, the amatory context of the lyric sequence, a genre predicated on loss and absence, creates an extraordinarily suggestive setting for contemplating the struggle against temporal alienation, historical solitude, and cultural loss that characterizes so much of the humanist response to antiquity.[2] Laura, who comes too late, belongs to a time other than her own and a world other than *trecento* Italy or France. As a figure for a lost antiquity—and for Petrarch this could only mean ancient

[1] *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* Rime sparse *and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976), 267.7-8. Further citations of the *Rime sparse* appear in the text and refer to poem and line number.

[2] The most powerful study of these aspects of humanist culture and Renaissance poetry remains that of Thomas M. Greene; see *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982). I borrow the phrase "historical solitude" from the title of Greene's second chapter.

Rome—she captures something of the poet's sense of his own cultural belatedness. Just as he contends with Laura's death and the fact that his initial, originary *innamoramento* marking the moment when he first saw her has continued to recede in time since his account of it in the sequence's opening poems, so must he simultaneously reckon with being cut off from full participation in a cultural moment already long past.[3] In grieving for Laura, Petrarch also grieves for a lost ancient world.

Petrarch picks up this association just two sonnets later, when he fuses together even more closely his absent beloved and a lost antiquity. In the elegiac, funerary sonnet commemorating both Laura and his close friend the Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, he also imagines poetry as sharing a similar fate to Rome's ruined architecture:

> Rotta è l'alta colonna e 'l verde lauro
> che facean ombra al mio stanco pensero;
> perduto ò quell che ritrovar non spero
> dal borea a l'austro o dal mar indo al mauro.
> Tolto m'ài, Morte, il mio doppio tesauro
> che mi fea viver lieto et gire altero,
> et ristorar nol po terra né impero,
> né gemma oriental né forza d'auro.

[3] David Quint has written more generally about Renaissance authors' relationships to "human history," on the one hand, and "a transcendent or divine source of meaning," often perceived to lend to the Renaissance text its "capacity to signify," on the other: "The Renaissance author who acknowledges the temporal distance separating his text from a timeless source of truth must either determine how the text can still participate in that truth or face the possibility that it has cut itself off from such truth altogether" (*Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source* [New Haven: Yale UP, 1983], 24).

Ma se consentimento è di destino,
che posso io più se no aver l'alma trista,
umidi gli occhi sempre, e 'l viso chino?
O nostra vita ch' è sì bella in vista,
com' perde agevolmente in un matino
quel che 'n molti anni a gran pena s'acquista. (*RS* 269)

(Broken are the high column and the green laurel that gave shade to my weary cares; I have lost what I do not hope to find again, from Boreas to Auster or from the Indian to the Moorish Sea. You have taken from me, O Death, my double treasure that made me live glad and walk proudly; neither land nor empire can restore it, nor orient gem, nor the power of gold. But, since this is the intent of destiny, what can I do except have my soul sad, my eyes always wet, and my face bent down? Oh our life that is so beautiful to see, how easily it loses in one morning what has been acquired with great difficulty over many years!)

In an astonishing confluence that brings together the architectural and the written, stone and poetic text, with the deaths of Colonna and Laura, the sonnet's opening line begins the process of translating personal loss into cultural terms. Petrarch conceals (albeit barely) the names of Colonna and Laura behind a paronomastic veil, intimately connecting each of them to ancient Rome: while the *alta colonna* conjures up an image of the city's former architectural grandeur, the *verde lauro* calls forth the laurel crown that

Caesars and poets once wore. The rhyme words of lines 1, 4, 5, and 8 insert Laura and the *lauro* within a string of signifiers denoting the expanse and richness of empire, so that *lauro* reverberates with *tesauro* and *auro*, spellings closer to their Latin roots (*thesaurus* and *aurum*) than they are to the corresponding modern Italian (*tesoro* and *oro*). Yet not even a search to the farthest reaches of the former Roman Empire itself—"from Boreas to Auster or from the Indian to the Moorish Sea"—could help Petrarch to find again (*ritrovar*) his "double treasure" and restore (*ristorar*) it to the present. The concluding tercet stresses the anguish of loss, yet its lament for *nostra vita* also shows the poet addressing a broader audience, implicating a communal "we" in the same set of problems as the Petrarchan lyric subject. Although the lament is certainly for the passing of Colonna and Laura, the indefinite *molti anni* of the poem's final line suggests an expansion of temporal horizons beyond the life of any single individual to encompass the rise and subsequent fall of ancient Rome.

In its relentless retrospection, however, the sonnet also considers its own future. Not, it is true, in the terms we might expect from Petrarch, given his fixation elsewhere in his writings on garnering worldly fame, poetic glory, and a secular immortalization for himself.[4] In what will become central to my larger concerns, Petrarch's sonnet provides a meditation on endurance and the relationship between stone and text, on the prospects for the poet's own verse and perhaps even the future of Italian vernacular poetry. It is a

[4] Petrarch's letters in particular show a strong concern about his future literary survival. On these and Petrarch's 1341 laureation in Rome, see Gordon Braden, *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1999), 7-14; and J. B. Trapp, "The Poet Laureate: Rome, *Renovatio* and *Translatio Imperii*," in *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. P. A. Ramsey (Binghamton: MRTS, 1982), 93-130.

meditation that is quite different from what we find, for instance, in the opening of Horace's most celebrated ode proclaiming that he has "finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids" (*Exegi monumentum aere perennius* / *regalique situ pyramidum altius*).[5] As in the sixteenth-century senses of the English term *monument*, the Latin *monumentum* means an architectural object—a sculpted bust, a statue or a tomb erected to commemorate the dead, a building—as well as a written document.[6] Horace's lines yoke these various artifacts together at the level of diction only to offer a sharp contrast with respect to the material durability of different artistic media and their propensity to decay. His verdict judges in favor of the poem's unassailability over time and its essential superiority in the rivalry (or *paragone*) between stone and text and their realization as architecture or sculpture and verse.[7] The durability of the medium as a vehicle for ideas and for representing the subjects it portrays becomes the central feature in his assertion of the written monument's preeminence as a commemorative work of art.

---

[5] Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. Niall Rudd (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004), *Odes* 3.30.1-2.

[6] See "monument, n.," entries 1-3, in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989) (hereafter *OED*). The term was, as Bart van Es notes in his study of Spenser, "a powerfully ambiguous word in the vocabulary of sixteenth-century England" (*Spenser's Forms of History* [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002], 23).

[7] Critical accounts of Renaissance interart rivalry have typically focused on the relationship between poetry and painting and the tenets of *ut pictura poesis*; see especially Marguerite Tassi, "O'erpicturing Apelles: Shakespeare's Paragone with Painting in *Antony and Cleopatra*," in Antony and Cleopatra*: New Critical Essays*, ed. Sara Munson Deats (New York: Routledge, 2005), 291-307; James Mirollo, "Sibling Rivalry in the Arts Family: The Case of Poetry vs. Painting in the Italian Renaissance," in *So Rich a Tapestry: The Sister Arts and Cultural Studies*, ed. Ann Hurley and Kate Greenspan (Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1995), 29-71; Judith Dundas, *Pencils Rhetorique: Renaissance Poets and the Art of Painting* (Newark: University of Delaware, 1993); Clarke Hulse, *The Rule of Art: Literature and Painting in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990); Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981); Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958), 57-92; and Rensselaer W. Lee's foundational study, "*Ut Pictura Poesis*: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197-269.

In contrast to more ephemeral conceptions of lyric as speech that is meant to be heard, Horace's ode lends to the Renaissance a distinctly lapidary conception of the poem. The poetic monument is written, inscribed in stone in a metaphorical sense that, as William West remarks, "overgoes the merely literal stone of the tomb."[8] It is fixed in time, not subject to decay or ruin in the way that Rome's columns will continue to be. While such a conception implies that the poem has a material component, it also suggests that there exists an unchanging, disembodied original that exists independently of any particular, materially vulnerable copy of it. Of course, the ode's opening boast is one that Renaissance poets, in their desire to validate their own vernacular poetry and guarantee its longlastingness, would often reiterate. With their heightened recognition of the material loss of antiquity—and of Rome in particular—there came a corresponding need for Renaissance poets who understood their poems in monumentalizing terms to see in the ancient texts that had survived to substantiate the accuracy of Horace's boast an analogue to their own poems' future survival. In one of the few poems in the *Rime* written in a Horatian vein, the sonnet to Pandolfo Malatesta, Petrarch likens the lord of Rimini to the great Roman generals of the past. Wishing to increase Pandolfo's fame, the poet remarks that he should write something about him on paper:

> che 'n nulla parte sì saldo s'intaglia

[8] William West, "Less Well-Wrought Urns: Henry Vaughan and the Decay of the Poetic Monument," *ELH* 75 (2008): 200. My brief discussion of lapidariness paraphrases West's at 199-201. See also Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), who emphasizes the lapidary qualities of the poetic epitaph. Interest in the monumentalizing conceit goes back to the New Critical emphasis on identifying the unifying structures of a poem, and in particular to Cleanth Brooks and his reading of Donne's "The Canonization"; see *The Well-Wrought Urn: Studies in the Structure of Poetry* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1975 [1947]), 3-21.

per far di marmo una persona viva.
Credete voi che Cesare o Marcello
o Paolo od African fossin cotali
per incude giamai né per martello?
Pandolfo mio, quest'opere son frali
al lungo andar, ma 'l nostro studio è quello
che fa per fama gli uomini immortali. (104.7-14)

([F]or nowhere can sculpture be solid enough to give a person life through marble. Do you believe that Caesar or Marcellus or Paulus or Africanus ever became so famous because of any hammer or anvil? My Pandolfo, those works are frail in the long run, but our study [i.e., letters] is the one that makes men immortal through fame.)

In its rivalry with sculpted marble works, the poem's supreme advantage is its life-giving power, the result of its durability. By drawing the analogy between the lord and his ancient predecessors, Petrarch indicates that like them, Pandolfo can guarantee himself immortal life only if he, too, has someone to capture his deeds in verse.

Commemorating antiquity while admonishing the present of the power of time over all, the Roman ruins alluded to in these two sonnets by Petrarch signaled a vanished world to those who saw them. They also sparked an enthusiasm to fill in the *lacunae* of the past. In his study of the Renaissance reception of ancient sculpture, Leonard Barkan has detailed the many ways in which humanist culture attempted to reconstruct—

materially, imaginatively, imitatively—the Roman ruins as harmonious and coherent wholes; to make seemingly silent, inert marble statues speak again; to map out in ever more historically precise and totalizing terms the changing shapes of Rome's ancient topography; even to use the ruins in conjunction with ancient texts to evoke the Roman dead.[9] It was often in the interest of Renaissance poets, however, to diminish the extent to which the monuments of the past had survived. The act, as Barkan notes, was more than a little disingenuous, for "[m]any monuments of [Rome's] architecture and its urban topography were in fine condition and formed the basis of whole libraries of humanistic study."[10] Yet the imaginative effacing of Rome's monuments allowed the poets to impose their own verbal texts upon them. By "construct[ing] their poetics on an emptied out field of classical art and architecture," by asserting that "the future [of marble monuments] is their own nonexistence," the poets were able to clear the imaginative space necessary to forward their own monumental, vernacular art and assert its preeminence in the rivalry between the textual and the architectural.[11] In holding written monuments apart—materially if not in name—from bronze and marble monuments, Renaissance poems

[9] See Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1999). The secondary literature on Rome in the Renaissance is of course enormous. In addition to Barkan, see David H. J. Larmour and Diana Spencer, eds., *The Sites of Rome*: *Time, Space, Memory* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007); Margaret M. McGowan, *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2000); Catharine Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996); Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993); Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1998 [1985]); Ramsey, ed., *Rome in the Renaissance* (1982); and Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (New York: Humanities, 1969).

[10] Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*, xxix.

[11] Ibid., xxxi, xxxvi.

imitating Horatian thematics attempt to ensure a future existence that avoids the fate of Rome's ruins.

For the Petrarch of *Rime* 269, however, both the *alta colonna* as a figure for Rome's architecture and the *verde lauro* as a figure for poetry are controlled by the same governing verb: *Rotta è*. Rather than drawing a contrast favoring the lasting power of verse over stone, Petrarch instead conflates the ruin of Rome's architecture with the ruin of letters: as the column/Colonna goes, the poem seems to suggest, so goes the laurel/Laura. As a result, the poem leaves little room for thinking about poetry as a monument in the positive sense of the term, as that which could preserve for posterity the incomparable objects of Petrarch's affection. Instead, it emphasizes the non-transferability of Rome's ancient, monumental grandeur to the poet's own time and place. Laureate succession—and with it the prospects for a poetic immortality—has been permanently interrupted.

***

For the English Renaissance poet, Petrarch's *Rime* 269 and Horace's ode might have offered contrasting models of poetic endurance. Far from occupying separate poetic spaces, however, in the English Renaissance, Horatian thematics often emerge most powerfully in amatory, Petrarchan contexts. As Shakespeare writes in the opening lines to sonnet 55: "Not marble nor the gilded monuments / Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme."[12] As a verbal monument for the indefinite future, Shakespeare's sonnet already

[12] *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Stephen Booth (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977), 55.1-2. Further references to the *Sonnets* appear in the text and refer to poem and line number.

assumes its status proleptically as an ancient artifact and presupposes that it will have a long and glorious future history: it is the poem alone that can guarantee the continued existence of the fair youth within the collective memory of posterity. Like the opening of Horace's ode (and unlike Petrarch's sonnet), Shakespeare's attempts to shore up the poem against its potential ruin relies on presenting a model of poetic endurance where the written text rivals the bronze or marble monument. Yet by understanding monumentalizing conceits as concerned primarily with the materiality of artistic media and the comparative durability of stone and text, we overlook the other uses to which Renaissance writers put architectural metaphors and the broad set of cultural functions they made them serve. How, for instance, did architectural metaphors impact the ways in which English writers understood the relationship between poetic monumentality and the cultural status of their vernacular? Given the culture's fascination with the material remains of the past, what did English poets imagine the future reception of their own vernacular art might look like in the event their poems, like the Latin classics, were to survive? Why does rivalry—not only among the arts but also between individual poets and even emergent national literatures—figure so prominently in Renaissance conceptions of poetic monumentality? And if the amatory contexts in which lyric poets have recourse to Horatian conceits suggest that monuments, too, are about desire, then desire for what?

In this project, I revise our assumptions about the Renaissance commonplace that poetic monuments last longer than marble ones. To be sure, claims to monumentality often work along Horatian lines in setting up stark rivalries between stone and text, but

his model for thinking about the relationship between architecture and poetry was not the only one available to English writers. Indeed, if we trace architectural metaphors in the poetry and poetics of the sixteenth century, we find that they are not even primarily about the poem's durability. In particular, I argue that English Renaissance poets and theorists treat the monument of verse as a space where their hopes for the poem's future converge with broader cultural concerns about the reception of the ancient past and the place of English vernacular poetry within the hierarchy of classical and contemporary European letters. English writers were put in mind of the material, architectural remains of antiquity not only by the example of Horatian thematics but also by the rise of a classicizing architectural discourse in England, one based on Vitruvius and his Italian and French interpreters. Critical accounts that detail the overlap between architecture and language (and especially Latin) have often focused on how the rules governing decorum, eloquence, and proportion in classical oratory and rhetorical theory influenced the visual, stylistic choices of the architects.[13] In my first chapter, "Amphion and the Architecture of English Rhyme," I argue that authors of Renaissance poetics manuals and defenses of rhyme invert that model by appropriating the forms and the vocabulary of classical architecture in order to communicate confidence in the lasting power of English poetic structures, to defend their vernacular against charges of vulgar barbarism, and to promote

[13] See, for example, Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), esp. chapters 1 and 3; Christy Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995), 239-86; and the collection of essays edited by Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossely, *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000-c. 1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), esp. Anderson's essay, "Monstrous Babels: Language and Architectural Style in the English Renaissance," 148-61.

the civilizing potential of English. In retelling the classical myth of Amphion, the poet-civilizer who circled the site of Thebes and charmed stones into forming the city's walls, English theorists align the rhymed stanzaic structures of English poetry with the twin civilizing forces of eloquence and architecture. Unable to recreate in English the quantitative meters of unrhymed Greek and Latin verse, English poets nonetheless imitate the architectural forms of antiquity and assert that rhyme is what holds the poetic structure together. Through their handling of the myth of Amphion and architectural metaphors, theorists thus promote a larger cultural project aimed at transforming attitudes about the English vernacular and establishing English verse as a legitimate rival to French and Italian—and even Greek and Latin—poetry.

Yet if lyric poets also turn to architectural metaphors to make claims about poetry's enduring quality, they simultaneously disclose a deep unease about the perils of textual transmission. Unlike the singular stone monument, the poetic monument depends on its easy transmissibility for its lasting power, on our ability to copy and disseminate it, on the fact that it is materially repeatable. Implicit within the metaphorics of the poetic monument, then, is an interplay between lapidary fixity and textual mobility that allows Renaissance poets to express both confidence in the survival of vernacular writings and suspicion that, as texts circulate, poetic conventions shift, and reading practices change, future audiences will read their verse skeptically and anachronistically. The examples of Petrarch, Pierre de Ronsard, and Sir Philip Sidney suggest that writing amatory lyric is crucial to legitimizing vernacular letters. At the same time, the monumentalizing conceits of English poets often appear most powerfully in genres rooted in failed hopes and

frustrated desires, that is, in the sonnet sequences and the complaints of Edmund Spenser, Samuel Daniel, and William Shakespeare. In acknowledging the fragility of the textual and the architectural remains of antiquity, lyric poets from Spenser forward consider their own textual futures with an entirely new sense of urgency. I argue, however, that their unease about the future of their art has as much to do with the genres in which they write and the audiences whom they imagine reading their poems as it does with the material vulnerability of the medium that transmits that art.

My second chapter, "Edmund Spenser's Ruins: English Poetry and the Architectural Aftermath of Rome," claims that in his 1591 *Complaints* volume, Spenser draws on Horatian thematics and the concept of the enduring poetic monument only to blur the distinction between poetic texts and architectural structures. In his translation of the great French poet Joachim du Bellay's sonnet sequence *Les Antiquitez de Rome* (1558), Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* adapts Petrarchan desire to reflect on both the ancient ruined city and English poetry. Whereas Petrarch's *Rime sparse* oscillates between detailing the past scattering of the beloved's body and the always deferred hope of piecing her together, Spenser's sequence refigures Petrarchan scattering and gathering to express hope that Rome's shattered landscape could be restored, as well as fear that reconstructing the ancient city and revivifying the ancient dead are impossible tasks for the Renaissance poet. By foregrounding the material relationship between Rome's ruined architecture and its poetry, I argue, Spenser puts increasing pressure on the lasting power of the English poem. In his envoys to both the *Ruines of Rome* and his narrative poem *The Ruines of Time*, Spenser reflects on the paradox of sending out into the world—of

putting in motion—the seemingly fixed poetic monument, so that his concerns about his poem's stability lead him to transpose Horatian thematics into an eternal, constellatory writing in the sky, and thus to imagine a more secure future for those individuals he commemorates than the poetic monument allows.

In the second half of this project, I consider funeral monuments as a subset of monuments. In contrast to those architectural structures that commemorate simply by the fact of their survival, funeral monuments aim to communicate to posterity a deliberate message about the individuals they represent. They take advantage of a liminal moment in the continuum between life and death as a means of shaping how the living will remember the dead; provide a sense of reassuring permanence in the face of change by fixing an image of the deceased; wrest from any rivals the power to represent the deceased's true likeness and establish a lengthy continuity with posterity; and articulate the self-proclaimed voice of the past among competing ideas of what that voice should sound like.[14] Of course, funeral monuments had come under attack following England's break from Rome, especially during the reign of Edward VI. The initial wave of Reformation iconoclasm generated such an outcry against the ruin and desecration of funeral monuments that in 1560 Elizabeth was led to publish a proclamation banning, on commemorative grounds, their further destruction.[15] Later in the English Renaissance,

[14] On English Renaissance funeral monuments, see in particular Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); and Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000).

[15] In his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), John Weever would have harsh words for those reformers who destroyed funeral monuments under Henry VIII and Edward VI: "But the foulest and most inhumane action of those times, was the violation of Funerall Monuments. Marbles which couered the dead were digged vp, and put to other vses (as I haue partly touched before) Tombes hackt and hewne apeeces;

antiquaries such as William Camden and John Weever would record in print not only the epitaphs that had survived the Reformation's iconoclasm but also those inscribed during the surge in funeral monument construction that began in the 1570s and lasted until the 1640s.[16] Because monumentalizing, immortalizing conceits emerge powerfully in English Renaissance lyric only in the later sixteenth century, I suggest that English poets who imagine their verse as a funeral monument preserving an image of their beloved for posterity partake in this surge.[17] However, sonnet sequences that monumentalize the beloved also partake in early modern practices of constructing funeral monuments *for the living*. In addition to conferring a secular afterlife to those they monumentalize, then, their poetic effigies fix an image of their beloved in metaphoric marble, so that they can just as easily be seen as hastily conferring coldness and death to those still in their prime. I argue that these poets' fantasy of entombing their beloved turns out to be less about a future rebirth than an obsessive, premature preparation for death.

In my third chapter, "The *donna petrosa*, the Myth of Pygmalion, and the Monument of Verse: Figurations of Stone in Samuel Daniel's *Delia*," I consider Daniel's

---

Images or representations of the defunct, broken, erazed, cut, or dismembered " (*Ancient Funerall Monuments* [Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1979], "Epistle to the Reader"). On Elizabeth's proclamation, see Newstok, *Quoting Death*, 17-18; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 165-71; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 269-71; and Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Volume 1: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 314-16.

[16] On the increase in sculpted funeral monuments in the later sixteenth century until the outbreak of the Civil War, see Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 6-10.

[17] For a mostly complete inventory of monumentalizing, immortalizing conceits in Elizabethan sonnet sequences, see Joseph Kau, "*Delia*'s Gentle Lover and the Eternizing Conceit in Elizabethan Sonnets," *Anglia: Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie* 92 (1974): 334-48. Kau notes that with the exceptions of Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare, sonneteers employed it infrequently; in addition to the examples he cites from John Soowthern's *Pandora* (1584), Henry Constable's *Diana* (1592), Giles Fletcher the Elder's *Licia* (1593), and Michael Drayton's *Ideas Mirrour* (1594), which underwent multiple revisions, culminating in *Idea, in Sixty-Three Sonnets* (1619), see the anonymous *Zephiria* (canzon 14). For more on Elizabethan sonneteers' use of the conceit, see J. B. Leishman, *Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 69-91.

indebtedness to Ovid's Pygmalion myth and the *donna petrosa* tradition in describing his beloved's attitude towards him. Whereas Pygmalion aims at turning his sculpted statue of an ideal woman into flesh, the sonneteer attempts to coax warmth and tenderness from a hardhearted beloved. Yet Daniel's sonnets eventually show a conflicting desire to monumentalize the living Delia in metaphoric marble, thus turning flesh into stone. I argue that Daniel's different figurations of stone and stoniness structure his sequence: if the first half of *Delia* emphasizes his beloved's hardheartedness, then in the second Daniel asserts his authorial control over her, reshaping his *donna petrosa* into a stone-like effigy destined for posterity. At the heart of Daniel's monumentalizing project there lies an insecurity, however, one that involves the public disclosure of what is essentially private experience and that I trace to competing claims one could make about the lyric in the period. By diminishing the scope of his expected readership and retreating inward, Daniel's sequence ends by setting the private, ephemeral nature of the amorous lyric against its newly acquired status as a public, enduring monument bequeathed to future readers of English verse.

In chapter four, "Shakespeare's Tombs for the Living: Poetic Rivalry and the Imagined Reception of the *Sonnets*," my point of departure is sonnet 81 and the function of its monumentalizing claims within the rival-poet group (sonnets 78-86). Critical accounts have often emphasized how Shakespeare's present loss of patronage and intimacy to a poetic rival leads him to use the monument of verse to upset traditional hierarchies between poet and patron. In contrast, I argue that by erecting a funeral monument to his living beloved, Shakespeare transposes the strife stemming from the

immediate competition for favor into a struggle for a future poetic inheritance. In imagining the fair youth's death, Shakespeare compensates for his present losses by wresting from his rival the power to fix in metaphoric stone the essence of his beloved for posterity. On the one hand, Shakespeare's monumentalizing verse anticipates a smooth translative movement of his memorial image of the fair youth, boldly asserting its own future reception in our rehearsal of the youth's very being. On the other hand, Shakespeare is suspicious about how future audiences will interpret his effigy of the youth, while his incessant recourse to tomb imagery anxiously questions the common Renaissance practice of representing in effigy those who are still living. Rather than promising a secular immortality, I argue, Shakespeare's monumentalizing verse representing his living beloved generates a premature sense of loss.

Chapter 1

Amphion and the Architecture of English Rhyme

movit Amphion lapides canendo

-Horace, *Odes* 3.11.2

And *Plato* affirmeth, the *Architect* to be
Master ouer all, that make any worke.

-John Dee, "Mathematicall Preface"

For many Elizabethan writers, eloquence in poetry is synonymous with its power to civilize. For some, it denotes the very source of civilization. As those who wrote the rhetoric and poetics manuals and the defenses of English rhyme attest, poets were the first priests and ministers, prophets and historiographers, philosophers and orators, lawmakers and politicians. Insofar as they were responsible for raising the first cities, poets were also the first architects, and although the writers of these manuals never quite make this claim, they imply as much in their discussion of the mythological origins of verse. Among the accounts of the power of eloquence to bring men together and assemble them in cities, that of the orator-civilizer of Cicero's *De inventione* holds a prominent position within the Renaissance rhetoric and poetics manuals. There, Cicero tells how "[m]en were scattered in the fields and hidden in sylvan retreats when [a wise

and great man] assembled and gathered them in accordance with a plan [*qui dispersos homines in agros et in tectis silvestribus abditos ratione quadam compulit unum in locum et congregavit*]. . . . [H]e had transformed them from wild savages into a kind and gentle folk."[1] Combating the barbarism of savage men with the civilizing power of his speech, the orator moves mankind from an initial dispersal to a communal space in which people are first gathered together.[2]

The opposition between barbarism and civilization embedded within the Ciceronian myth is also central to another pair of originary, classical myths about the civilizing power of poetry: that of Orpheus, the Thracian singer whose song tames wild beasts and moves to tears the shades of Hades as he attempts to call his beloved Eurydice back to life; and Amphion, the poet-civilizer who circled the site of Thebes playing his lyre and charming stones into forming the city's walls. In his *Ars poetica*, Horace recounts the myth of Amphion by illustrating how poetry and architecture partake in the same civilizing process: *dictus et Amphion, Thebenae conditor urbis, / saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda / ducere quo vellet* ("Hence too the fable that Amphion, builder [or founder; originator] of Thebes citadel, moved stones by the sound of his lyre, and led them whither he would by his supplicating spell").[3] Of course, these myths make standard appearances in the rhetoric and poetics manuals of the English Renaissance as well. Although Orpheus receives the bulk of the attention, both in the Renaissance and in

[1] Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De inventione. De optimo genere oratorum. Topica*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960 [1949]), 6-7.
[2] On the Ciceronian myth and its Renaissance retellings, see Wayne A. Rebhorn, *The Emperor of Men's Minds: Literature and the Renaissance Discourse of Rhetoric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995), 23-29.
[3] Horace, *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1929), ll. 394-96.

contemporary critical accounts about the Renaissance reception of these myths, it is Amphion who merges the figure of the poet-civilizer with the figure of the architect.[4] Often mentioned in passing towards the beginning of these manuals, the myth nonetheless contributes to the development of English Renaissance poetics by making the verbal and the visual work together in harmony, and it subtends English writers' ensuing discussions about the architecture of the poem and its importance for English vernacular poetry. If in the myth the supplicating power of verse is necessary for raising the Theban walls, then in the English Renaissance, I argue, the forms associated with a civilized and civilizing architecture become increasingly important for legitimizing English poetic "making" and, in particular, English rhyme. In the myth, in other words, Amphion's song makes possible the well-proportioned, harmonious architectural structure, a process that English theorists invert by putting architecture in the service of English vernacular poetry. I claim that in disciplines ranging from architecture and education to rhetoric and poetics, writers such as John Shute, Richard Mulcaster, George Puttenham, Michael Drayton, and (with significant qualifications) Samuel Daniel borrow the vocabulary and even the forms from a newly classicizing architectural discourse as a means of securing the civilized status of the English vernacular and its verse, both within the hierarchy of classical and modern European letters and for posterity.

[4] On the Orpheus myth in the Renaissance, see most recently Heather Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus: Lyric Poetry and Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007); and Sean Keilen, *Vulgar Eloquence: On the Renaissance Invention of English Literature* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2006), 32-88, who argues "that classical fables about Orpheus, Philomela, and Circe provided the context and the texture of the emergent category of vulgar eloquence" (27).

As we will see, this new architectural discourse, which stems from Vitruvius and his modern-day Italian and French interpreters, becomes more mainstream among English intellectuals in the later sixteenth century. It also gives to English Renaissance poetry and poetics a sophisticated conceptual framework for thinking about not only the relationship between language and architecture, the verbal and the visual arts, but also the design and construction of poems and stanzas, including the very shape of the poem. It is in the 1570s and 1580s that we also begin to find retellings of Amphion's story in the rhetoric and poetics manuals, as well as imitations of Horace's ode contrasting poetic monuments to monuments made of stone and brass by poets such as John Soowthern, whose *Pandora* (1584) contains translations of odes written by Pierre de Ronsard that sound Horatian themes, and Edmund Spenser, to whose translations of Joachim du Bellay I will turn in the following chapter. The historical convergence of these different ways of formulating the relationship between poetry and architecture indicates that in the later sixteenth century, how English poets and theorists understood poetic monumentality and the relationship between stone and text became vital to their perception of the future of their art and the status of their language. In this chapter, I contend that the Renaissance theorists of poetry—as distinct from the poets themselves—adopt a hopeful, optimistic model of poetic monumentality. By basing their theories of poetic form on both the strength and the elegance of classical architectural forms and the visual stability of the poem on the page, they implicitly argue for the capacity of the English poetic monument to endure.

Such an architectural poetics suggests a set of correspondences between these two arts that, in addition to reinforcing the individual accomplishments of each, also plays a role in the cultural politics of defending the English vernacular against its detractors. In his work on "the aesthetic discourses of the Renaissance," and in particular on the convergence of and rivalries between poetry and painting, Clark Hulse has shown that "the relationship between [the two] is not some remote contact at the borderzone of each art, but is essential to the particular nature of each form, to their claims of achievement, and to their hold over the society that produced them."[5] Together, they share a body of aesthetic theory describing their overlap as well as a set of social and political functions: whereas Renaissance writers often saw poetry "as a medium of powerful and arresting images which are only heightened by being cast into the visual terms of a descriptive passage," they in turn understood painting "as the depiction of *istorie*." In both instances, art is "designed to kindle admiration [in its audience] and preserve the fame of eminent men."[6] By shifting the focus onto the relationship between poetry and architecture, I argue that the architectural metaphors used by the writers of rhetoric and poetics manuals and defenses of English rhyme become indispensible not only for describing the enduring quality of the monumental poem but also for addressing charges that the English vernacular is rude and barbarous. In other words, metaphors in which poetry and architecture converge in describing poetic form need to be understood within the broader

[5] Clarke Hulse, *The Rule of Art: Literature and Painting in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), 18, 19.

[6] Ibid., 8. Hulse has in mind the famous passage from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (33.1-3) in which the poem describes the historical trajectory of painters from Greece to Renaissance Italy; however, he sees it as exemplary of "the totalizing impulses within Renaissance culture generally" that sought to unify the arts (19).

discursive context of both the civilizing myths pairing these two arts and the debates about the cultural status of the vernacular into which these manuals also enter. To be sure, we travel quite some distance from the accounts of Amphion and the power of his divinely inspired song to erect the Theban walls to the more technical, material, architectural explorations of English poetic "making" and poetic form. Yet the myth's civilizing spirit, foregrounded towards the beginning of the manuals, carries over to those sections where theorists consider the architecture of the English poem. In theorizing an architecturally monumental verse, these writers suggest that if English poets cannot reproduce the quantitative meters of Greek and Roman verse in their own vernacular poetry, they can nonetheless establish a line of continuity between ancient and modern by imitating the visual forms of antiquity. As in the Amphion myth, English theorists emphasize the unity of these arts, which in turn helps them to project a growing national self-confidence in the future of a civilized and civilizing English verse.

I: *Architecture and the English Vernacular*

In a series of essays on the rise of an architectural discourse in later sixteenth-century England, Christy Anderson emphasizes the centrality of architecture's connection to language in the early English treatises.[7] The introduction to English soil of the foreign language editions of Vitruvius's *De architectura* and its Italian and French interpreters

[7] See Christy Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995), 239-86; and "Monstrous Babels: Language and Architectural Style in the English Renaissance," in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000-c. 1650*, ed. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 148-61.

gave artists, artisans, and courtiers access to the precepts of classical architectural theory, while the first architectural treatises written in English began to appear in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. [8] Although these treatises lack the sophistication, the boldness, and the sheer size of those produced on the continent, they emphasize the Vitruvian theory that language—and in particular grammar and rhetoric—is intimately linked to the discipline of architecture. As Anderson shows, Englishmen who wrote about architecture prioritized its link both to Latin grammar, the study of which required "a systematic approach" that could then be applied to other disciplines, and ancient texts, which afforded an "intellectual context for an architectural style based on . . . ancient precedent."[9] John Shute's treatise, for example, a thin volume on the origins and the proportions of the five architectural orders entitled *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563), is the first architectural treatise published in England. Described by Roy Strong as "a landmark in the annals of Tudor architecture," it was also the first written in English.[10] Shute published the treatise after having visited Italy in 1550 under the patronage of the Duke of Northumberland, and he adheres to the claim that Vitruvius

[8] For an index of English owners of foreign painting, perspective, and architectural treatises, see Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981), 66-86, who takes her findings from the surviving library catalogues from the years 1580-1630. Her list of those who owned books on architectural theory includes John Dee, John Florio, Robert Fludd, Inigo Jones, and Ben Jonson, as well as a number of prominent Elizabethan courtiers, among them Lord Burghley, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Tresham, Lord Lumley, and the Ninth Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy.

[9] Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture," 242.

[10] Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, 3 vols. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), 2.19. Similarly, Eileen Harris (with Nicholas Savage) writes that "[t]he demand for the book can be measured by its four editions and is hardly surprising in view of the fact that there was nothing else on the subject in English until [Richard] Haydocke's translation of [Giovanni Paolo] Lomazzo's *Tracte Containing the Artes of Curious Paintinge Carvinge & Buildinge* in 1598 and, more important, the translation of [Hans] Blum's *Booke of Five Collumnes* in 1601" (*British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990], 419).

makes at the beginning of *De architectura* about the vast erudition required to be a true architect, who grasps subjects as diverse as language and literature, draughtsmanship and mathematics, history and music, even medicine and astronomy.

Following Vitruvius, Shute begins by emphasizing the relationship between architecture and language, writing that the architect "ought first to be a very good Grammarian," so that "playnlye and briefly he maye discusse and open demonstrations of that which shalbe done or mete to those persones, that shalbe the fownders of any noble workes."[11] The requirement that the architect be proficient in letters, however, is not just about being able to communicate with patrons; rather, architectural theory often highlights its overlap with classical rhetorical theory, whose terms and values influence architecture's aims, rules, and theories of ornamentation and structure the visual experience of looking at a building.[12] Vitruvius, for example, writes that "architecture consists of order . . . and of arrangement . . . and of proportion and symmetry and decor and distribution," terms that recall the stylistic qualities for which Ciceronian prose was so often commended in the Renaissance.[13] Roger Ascham, who was obsessed with Ciceronian "order," invokes its overlap with architecture when he criticizes Macrobius and others for "order[ing] nothing" in their attempts to show how the Romans imitated the Greeks: "They lay before you what is done: they do not teach you how it is done:

---

[11] John Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (London, 1563), sig. B.2^{v}. John Dee's "Mathematicall Preface" echoes the Vitruvian claim about the "sundry skils and knowledges" required to be an architect: "none can iustly account them selues Architectes, . . . [b]ut they onely, who . . . beyng fostered vp with the atteynyng of many Languages and Artes, haue wonne to the high Tabernacle of Archicture [sic]" ("Mathematicall Preface," in *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara*, trans. Henry Billingsley [London, 1570], sig. d.3^{v}). Further citations of both Shute and Dee appear in the text and refer to signature number.

[12] See Clarke and Crossely, "Introduction," in *Architecture and Language*, 5-6.

[13] Vitruvius, *On Architecture*, ed. Frank Granger, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1931), 1.25.

They busie not them selues with forme of buildyng."[14] Shute, too, opens his treatise promoting England's adoption of the five architectural orders by referring not to Vitruvius but rather to Cicero, the ancient paradigm of Latin elegance, order, and sophistication, as his dedication to Queen Elizabeth rehearses the Ciceronian metaphor relating the human body to the body politic, both of whose parts should work together "in an helthful hermonye" (A.2^{r}). The rest of his treatise will describe and diagram how the orders exhibit such a harmony and how their durability stems from their symmetrical proportionality, "yea and suche, as neither the iniuries of any stormes and tempest can cleane wast and consume, no nor (as it semeth) the enuie of man or spoyle of enemies deface & overthrow, neither that which is greatiste of all, time it selfe can deface or cast out of mynde" (A.2^{v}; see fig. 1). By referring to the architectural orders variously as "comely," "stronge," "faire," "beautifull," "garnished beatifully," "endewed with . . . diuers graces and coninge," and "elega[nt]," Shute adopts a vocabulary that writers often used to describe what a fully enriched and copious oratorical and/or poetic style should sound like.[15]

[14] Roger Ascham, *English Works: Toxophilus, Report of the Affaires and State of Germany, The Scholemaster*, ed. William Aldis Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1904), 276. Further citations of Ascham appear in the text and refer to page number.

[15] Shute, *The First and Chief Groundes*, B.1^{r}-B.2^{v} and F.3^{v}. Alina A. Payne makes a similar point about the Italian architect Sebastiano Serlio's terminology, focusing on the influence of "language and its theory as one of the submerged elements in the transumption process whereby architecture creatively assimilated antiquity" in late sixteenth-century Italy ("Ut poesia architectura: Architectural Criticism circa 1570," in *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, ed. Alina A. Payne et al. [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000], 148). On the relationship between the rhetorical figure of balance in Elizabethan prose style and country-house architecture in sixteenth-century England, see Russ McDonald, "Compar or Parison: Measure for Measure," in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, ed. Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), 39-58 (esp. 41-43).

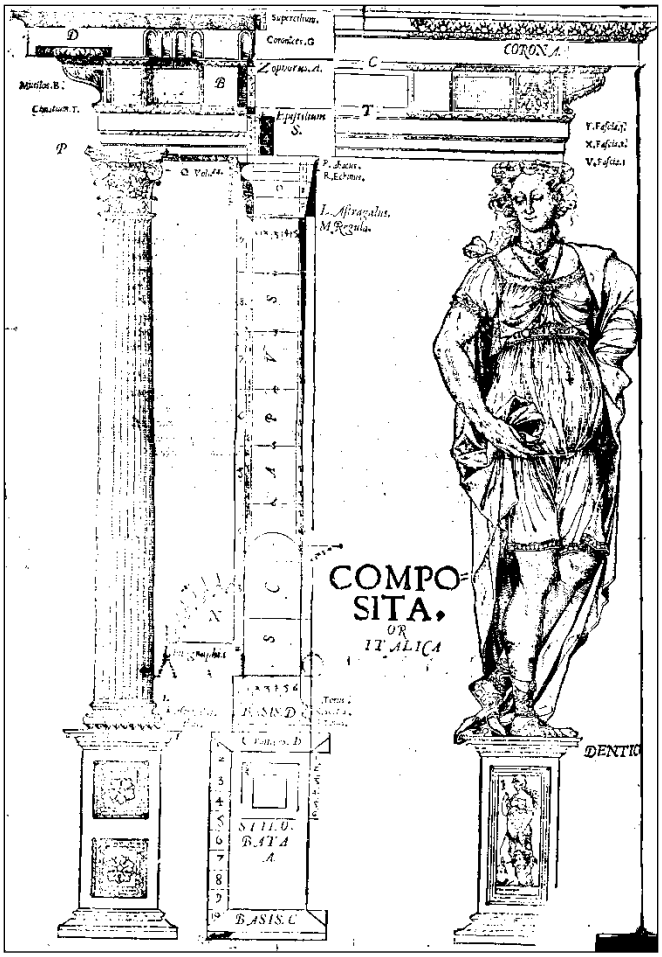


Fig. 1. The drawing of the Composite Order in John Shute's
First and Chief Groundes of Architecture (1563)

As Anderson notes, Shute's treatise focuses almost entirely on the educational training of the architect. Yet I wish to suggest that the analogy Shute draws between architecture and language has more far-reaching implications for the English vernacular than she implies. Although Anderson attends to the role that a newly classicizing architectural vocabulary plays in the debates concerning the status of the English vernacular and its poetry, whether it could be improved, and how, as an art historian she

focuses primarily on the impact of the analogy on the arguments that architects made concerning their own visual choices. By contrast, I wish to shift the focus onto the appropriation of classical architectural forms and the terminology used to describe them by those who wrote the education, rhetoric, and poetics manuals and who therefore had the status of the vernacular foremost in their minds. By the later sixteenth century, attitudes towards the vernacular and whether or not English writers could attain an eloquence to match that of the ancients had begun to shift.[16] In *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), William Webbe can think of "no memorable worke written by any Poet in our English speech vntill twenty yeeres past"; however, he asserts that, *now*, "there be as sharpe and quicke wittes in England as euer were among the peerelesse Grecians or renowmed Romaines."[17] Just one decade later, Richard Carew unabashedly proclaims just "how farre wee are within compasse of a fore imagined impossibility" with respect to English eloquence and copiousness.[18] Critical accounts have often focused on the more common metaphors used by English Renaissance writers in detailing their sense of their language's cultural status; in particular, they concentrate on metaphors relating to commerce and horticulture in order to discuss how English writers understood the development of their vernacular and whether their borrowings and graftings from other

[16] Richard Foster Jones sums up the general situation as follows: "Though past values and attitudes linger on, eloquence in English compositions become [by the end of the sixteenth century] an accomplished fact, and the rhetorical potentialities of the mother tongue are revealed once and for all. The rude, gross, base, and barbarous mother tongue recedes into the past, and its place is taken by an eloquent language, confidence in which mounts higher and higher until it yields nothing even to Latin and Greek" (*The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* [Stanford: Stanford UP, 1953], 169-70).

[17] William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols. (London: Oxford UP, 1904), 1.239, 228. Further citations of Webbe appear in the text and refer to page number.

[18] Richard Carew, *The Excellency of the English Tongue*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2.292.

languages had enriched or impaired it.[19] In the history of attitudes towards the language, however, architectural metaphors also hold a prominent position in English writers' evaluations of their vernacular and the uneasy relationship between civilization and barbarism. Although the forms and the vocabulary of classical architectural discourse have their roots in ancient and foreign sources, English theorists from a whole range of disciplines are quick to view architecture as a civilizing force easily put in the service of their educational programs and their vernacular, often drawing on it to register self-confident expressions of nationalist sentiment.

For one example, we can turn to Shute's architectural treatise, which shows a strong investment in what it can do to advance the vernacular.[20] Although Latin and Italian texts authorize his introduction of classical architectural theories and forms into England, Shute also utilizes the ancient pedigree of architecture and its synecdochal capacity to stand in for the civilizing forces of culture in order to advance the present and future fortunes of both his language and his nation. Unlike those who retell the Amphion myth, Vitruvius does not make architecture dependent on poetry; yet he tells a similar narrative about the founding of civilization and how, "from the construction of buildings, [the first craftsmen (*fabros*)] progressed by degrees to other crafts and disciplines, and they led the way from a savage and rustic life to a peaceful civilization [*e fera agrestique*

[19] See in particular Neil Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins of English* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), 124-29; Paula Blank, *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings* (London: Routledge, 1996), 33-68; and Jones, *Triumph of the English Language*, 168-213.

[20] Harris writes that "it was not for architects alone that designs for the orders were published, nor was it only in architectural books" (*British Architectural Books*, 23), noting that in the Renaissance, they can also be found in mathematical treatises, measuring books, treatises on perspective, and builders' dictionaries. To these we can add the rhetoric and poetics manuals.

vita ad mansuetam perduxerunt humanitatem]" (1.84-85). Adapting the Vitruvian myth to his own historical moment, Shute proceeds to narrate the role played by architecture in the civilizing process: how the first columns were devised; how with the "deuision of tounges, or languages" after the construction of "the towre of Babilon," there came a corresponding division in architectural styles (B.1^{r}); how, subsequently, the individual orders were developed and finally perfected over the course of antiquity; and how that knowledge of the orders "hath [since] ben withdrawen and hidden . . . through ignoraunce" and the "iniurie of time" (B.2^{v}). Besides restoring to light a previously lost discipline, then, Shute's stated intention for "commit[ting] to writing in our natiue language" the first treatise on architecture is to combat a more general ignorance and rudeness among his countrymen (A.3^{r}). By making available the architectural precepts of the great ancient and Italian masters to those who "lacke the langwages & learning" to understand them, Shute hopes that his treatise "might edifie" his readers (A.2^{r}, A.3^{r}). Taken in its educational sense, the verb "edify" means simply "to instruct" or "improve"; however, it also points to its etymological roots in the Latin *aedificare*, meaning "to build" or "construct." Shute's choice of diction captures in a single word his association of the five architectural orders, which make up the subject of his treatise, with the civilizing aims of education itself. Extending his metaphor, we can say that his treatise aims to build up in those who would practice architecture a base of knowledge that would allow them to "increase riches, worshippe, and fame"—for themselves, to be sure, but in particular for their country. But Shute's text looks beyond just the creation in England of an architecture based on the classical orders, and it reaches out to an audience that

includes more than just architects; indeed, his text will help all those who practice what he calls the "rationall artes" requiring skill in mathematics and the sciences (A.2^{r}). Shute lists painters, masons, goldsmiths, embroiderers, carvers, joiners, glassmakers, and engravers as those who could benefit from reading his treatise, though he surely had in mind as well those courtiers engaged in directing building projects.[21] As we will see, the classical architectural forms and the vocabulary used to describe them, all of which Shute helped to introduce, will in turn aid theorists of poetic "making," as they attempt not only to illustrate the structures of English verse but also to legitimate it by drawing visual parallels between English poetic forms and ancient architecture.

By repeatedly stating that he writes in English, moreover, Shute emphasizes that the service he performs is as much for his language and his nation as it is for the would-be architect and his art. Not only will the Englishman's ability as an architect be greatly improved by a study of foreign grammars and languages (and by extension a full immersion in humanist learning), but the prestige of the English vernacular itself will be enhanced and enriched by its close association with—as well as its capacity to accommodate—a newly emergent architectural vocabulary that derives from ancient, classical sources. Thus, what the Greeks call *architectonica* and the Romans *architectura*, Shute (now boasting a bit) thinks "not altogither vnfite nor vnaptlie by me termed in Englishe, the arte and trade to rayse vp and make excellent edifices and buildings" (A.2^{v}).

[21] Similarly, the title page to Hans Blum's *The Booke of Five Collumnes of Architecture*, trans. I. T. (London: 1608; first translated in 1601), states that the book's material was "gathered with great diligence . . . for the benefit of free-masons, carpenters, goldsmithes, painters, carvers, [inlayers], anticke cutters, and all others that delight to practise with the compass and squire." Doreen Yarwood notes, for example, that it was Lord Burghley who was "largely responsible for the form of" Burghley House, which was built in the 1580s (*The Architecture of Britain* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976], 94).

His desire that England adopt the classical architectural orders also gives rise to the subtly nationalistic tenor of the conclusion to his treatise:

> Thus ending this treatie of the Introduction and measures of these for sayd pillers, whiche are the original first grounds and entring into this noble science of Architecture, practised and alowed by right mighty and worthye potentates, and Emporours for perpetuall memorye of their victorious and triumphant feates, the Elegance thereof, of all antiquitie hath bene and yet presentely is as a parfaicte example and a myrroure to behold, lerne and take trewe measures, aswell to all suche, as delight in durable Edifices and buildings. (F.3^{v})

Shute dedicates his treatise to "the most high and excellent" Queen Elizabeth, and it seems clear from his concluding remarks that she, like the "right mighty and worthye potentates" of the past, would do well to oversee monumental architectural projects in England. More than signifying a humanist transference of ancient culture to Renaissance England, Shute's treatise links an *imitatio* of the architectural orders of antiquity—of which England is to "lerne and take trewe measures"—to England's imperial aspirations. To be sure, Shute emphasizes the purely educational aims of his treatise, and his remarks concentrate on the strength and the durability, the elegance and the nobility, of the columns of antiquity. Yet an English imitation of the architectural orders also presupposes a series of "victorious and triumphant feates" as a further—and ultimately, it would seem, as the main—justification for their actual construction on the model of

antiquity. And it presupposes as well a powerful sovereign for whom those monuments would serve as signs of her "perpetuall memorye."

If the architectural theorists relied on comparing architecture to Latin grammar and classical rhetoric in order to legitimize their discipline and encourage England's adoption of classical architectural principles, then the reverse is also true. In other words, those who wrote about the English vernacular and English rhyme often turned to architecture as one way to defend their language against its detractors. Even Shute's treatise intimates that the introduction of a classicizing architectural discourse into England could in turn be made to enhance the vernacular and boost England's cultural status with respect to its ancient and modern rivals. As Anderson notes, the introduction of architectural treatises did not "radically chang[e] the way buildings were made" in Renaissance England. Although a number of new or newly remodeled English buildings communicated an architectural style conflating classical and native elements, it was only with the construction of Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace (1619-22) that the classicizing principles of the architectural treatises receive their full embodiment in an English building. What it did change, she argues, was "the tenor of architectural discussion by allowing architectural information to be distributed more widely to a more varied group of people, and by creating a new kind of architectural authority and form of communication through the printed page."[22] The relative paucity of actual buildings

[22] Anderson, "Monstrous Babels," 160. On the conscious conflation of native and classical architectural styles in Elizabethan England, see Alice T. Friedman, "Did England Have a Renaissance? Classical and Anticlassical Themes in Elizabethan Culture," in *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*, ed. Susan J. Barnes and Walter S. Melion (Hanover: UP of New England, 1989), 95-111. One exception to such a textually-centered classicizing architecture can be found in funeral monuments,

constructed along classical lines meant that the classicizing impulse was borne out primarily in print, its authority located in the architectural treatises, their drawings, and their references to ancient classical texts (whether architectural or otherwise); in texts that employ an architecturally classicizing frontispiece and/or other architectural paratexts; and in the poetics manuals that discuss the forms, structures, and shapes of English poetry in architectural terms.

In what became the standard Latin grammar text of the English Renaissance, for example, William Lily and John Colet's *Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1567; hereafter Lily's *Grammar*) opens with an address exhorting the reader to make a good beginning to his study of Latin. Although the value of learning Latin grammar did not require further justification in the form of analogies to a newly emerging discursive field, this does not stop Lily from invoking architectural metaphors in order to make the case for the overall effectiveness of his educational program. The textbook compares the study of Latin grammar to a "buyldinge," stating that it cannot "bee perfect, when as the foundacion and grounde worke is readye to fall, and vnable to vpholde the burthen of the

---

the construction of which, from the 1570s forward, "was booming in [England] as nowhere else," as Nigel Llewellyn puts it (*Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001], 20). Llewellyn ultimately plays down the role of classicizing influences in the construction of new funeral monuments. However, see Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 129-63; and Brian Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1980), 58-88, both of whom emphasize the classical, secular nature of continental Renaissance influences. On the ways in which architects and sculptors modeled their work on print sources—and especially on frontispiece prints—rather than the reverse, see Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997). As Sherlock comments: "Arguably the most significant influence on the development of visual language in English commemorative sculpture came from the printing press" (*Monuments and Memory*, 140).

frame."[23] In what remains of his address to the reader, Lily proceeds to enumerate the building blocks of Latin grammar, the solid grasp of which will provide the foundation for all future studies undertaken by the student. When considered alone, this passage from Lily's *Grammar* does not seem to allude to a specifically classical architecture. Yet the architectural metaphor also looks back to the work's title-page. An example of the kind of fanciful, mannerist handling of classical architectural themes that became increasingly popular in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English title-pages, the design features ionic columns, an architrave, and a pediment as borders to enclose the title of the work and thus augment our sense of its overall significance (see fig. 2).[24] By invoking the architectural in referring to Latin grammar, the book's title-page works in conjunction with the architectural metaphor of its preface to present, at the very entrance to the text, a kind of visual threshold through which the student may access an ancient world where the Latin language shares a heritage with classical architecture.[25]

Yet English humanist educators also used the symbolic value of a

[23] William Lily et al., *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945), sig. A.2^{r}. Commenting on the architectural metaphor of this passage, Martin Elsky writes: "The edifice of learning is founded on the study of grammar, itself the art that teaches how to compose linguistic structures from the human voice or from the constituent building blocks of language, letters, syllables, and words" (*Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance* [Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989], 10). The passage is also discussed by Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture," 250-51.

[24] On the fanciful treatment of architectural themes in English Renaissance title-pages, see Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550-1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979). On the development of the architectural title-page over the course of the Renaissance, see Margery Corbett, "The Architectural Title-Page: An Attempt to Trace Its Development from Its Humanist Origins up to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, the Heyday of the Complex Engraved Title-Page," *Motif* 12 (1964): 48-62.

[25] On the architectural title-page as a visual threshold and "the early modern connections between the entrances to buildings and the entrances to books" (78), see William H. Sherman, "On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext, and Early Print Culture," in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2007), 67-81 (esp. 78-81).

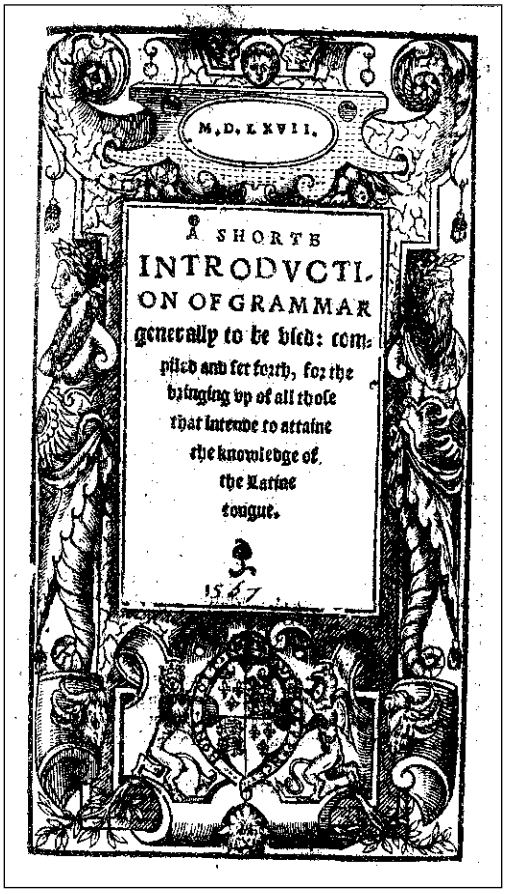


Fig. 2. The title-page to Lily's *Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1567)

monumentalizing architecture, whose forms evoked stability and strength, order and elegance, not for the sake of Latin but rather the English vernacular and its poetry. One of the vernacular's most vocal supporters was Richard Mulcaster, whose "Peroration" at the end of his *Elemtarie* (1582), an educational treatise on the "right" writing of English, attempts to raise the status of the vernacular from the rude and barbarous position given it by the likes of Ascham, a staunch proponent of the quantitative movement who sought to impose the classical meters of Greek and Latin verse onto English poetry and thus rid it

of its "rude beggarly ryming" (289).[26] Published posthumously in 1570, Ascham's *Scholemaster* sums up an earlier generation's sense of the vernacular as rude, barbarous, and gross, and as Richard Helegerson notes, it speaks "with the unmistakable voice of cultural authority."[27] While there may be those, Ascham writes, even "in the rudest contrie, and most barbarous mother language, . . . [who] can speake verie wiselie," it is only in literary Greek and Latin that "we finde alwayes wisdome and eloquence, good matter and good vtterance" (265). Mulcaster, too, reveres Latin, but this does not prevent him from expressing his unequivocal adoration for his own language. In the most famous passage from the *Elementarie,* Mulcaster writes: "I loue *Rome*, but *London* better, I fauor *Italie*, but *England* more, I honor the *Latin*, but I worship the *English*."[28]

With far more regularity than Lily's *Grammar*, moreover, Mulcaster's educational treatise turns to architectural metaphors in order to promote a program designed to improve the reading and writing of English rather than Latin:

> As in this course of mine, the Elementarie principles maie resemble the first groundwork: the teaching of tungs the second stories: the after learning the vpper bildings. Now as in *Architecture* and artificiall bilding, he were no good workma[n] which wold not cast his frame so, as ech of

[26] On Mulcaster, see Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 125-27; Anne Lake Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), 65-66; and Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language*, 192 ff. On the impact of the quantitative movement within the language debates, see Rhodes, *Shakespeare and the Origins*, 130-34; and Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), 21-40.

[27] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 28. For more on Ascham's attitudes towards accentual syllabic verse, see Derek Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres* (London: Cambridge UP, 1974), 93-100.

[28] Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie which Entreateth Chefelie of the Right Writing of Our English Tung* (London, 1582), 254. Further citations of Mulcaster are provided in the text and refer to page number.

> the ascents might be conformable to other: so in the degrees of learning, it were no masterlie part not to obserue the like, which cannot be obserued, before the [w]hole be thought on, and thoroughlie fashioned in the parties minde, which pretendeth the work. (232)

On the one hand, the architectural metaphor looks all the way back to Geoffrey of Vinsauf's famous formulation about building a Latin poem: "If a man has a house to build, his impetuous hand does not rush into action. The measuring line of his mind first lays out the work, and he mentally outlines the successive steps in a definite order."[29] On the other hand, Mulcaster emphasizes the sturdiness and the coherence of "artificiall bilding" as a metaphor for how to learn not Latin but an English vernacular that is eloquent and ordered rather than barbarous and rude. His general precepts for understanding each step or "degree" of the building process overlap, too, with those of the architectural theorists: just as his whole course must "be thought on, and thoroughlie fashioned" in the minds of both teacher and student before the actual work can commence, so Dee writes that the "whole [f]orme and figure of the buildyng, may rest in the very Lineamentes. . . . And we may prescribe in mynde and imagination the whole formes, all materiall stuffe beyng secluded" (d.4^{r}). From the perspective not of the architect but rather the schoolmaster, Mulcaster even argues at some length for the importance of teaching drawing alongside both reading and writing:

[29] *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*, trans. Margaret F. Nims (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1967), 16-17.

> & withall I will shew how [som certain figures proper to so manie of the foresaid faculties] be to be delt with euen fro[m] their first point, to their last perfection, seing it is out of all controuersie, that, if drawing be thought nedefull, as it shall be proued to be, it is now to be delt with, while the finger is te[n]der, & the writing yet in ha[n]d, that both the pen & pe[n]cill, both the rule and co[m]pas, maie go forward together. (58)

As Lucy Gent has shown, the English understanding of drawing remained rudimentary—a technical, functional skill used for rough outlining rather than an art in its own right—even in the late sixteenth century. Only with the emergence of such figures as Henry Peacham, Henry Wotton, and (above all) Inigo Jones in the early seventeenth century would the understanding of drawing shift in the direction of architectural design.[30] Still, for those students who will eventually go on to study such "faculties" as architecture, topography, and chorography, the skill of drawing proves indispensible, and Mulcaster insists on the close correspondence—perhaps even the conflation—of the tools used by the writer and the draughtsman, the poet and the architect, so "that both the pen & pe[n]cill, both the rule and co[m]pass, maie go forward together" in the advancement of the English language and English culture.

II: *Ut architectura poesis and the Civilizing of English Rhyme*

Theorists of English poetics in the later sixteenth century often present a less straightforward, more complicated attitude towards the status of the English vernacular

[30] See Gent, *Picture and Poetry*, 9-14.

than Mulcaster, even when they generally share his optimism. Although George Puttenham, in *The Art of English Poesy* (1589), thinks it "hard to find, in these days, . . . a cunning poet," he ultimately blames the poor state of contemporary English verse not on the poets so much as on the "iron and malicious age" in which they have "become contemptible."[31] Still, Puttenham maintains a confidence in the future of the vernacular, and he carries out his defense of English poetry along lines similar to those of Mulcaster's. In his "Peroration," Mulcaster claims that "[n]o one tung is more fine then other naturallie," and he makes a point of stressing that the Greeks and Romans are exemplary not just in their eloquence but also in their initial struggle to achieve it. For they once had to use "the same means to brave themselues [before their languages] proued so beawtifull" as Englishmen must now use for their own vernacular, namely, "garnish[ing] it with eloquence, & . . . enrich[ing] it with learning" (253).[32] At the outset of his manual, Puttenham, too, asks: "And if the art of poesy be but a skill appertaining to utterance, why may not the same be with us as well as with [the Greeks and Latins], our language being no less copious, pithy and significative than theirs, our conceits the same, and our wits no less apt to devise and imitate than theirs were?" (95). Even if English verse is incapable of incorporating classical quantitative meters into the fabric of its accentual syllabic underpinnings ("the nature of our language and words not permitting

[31] *The Art of English Poesy by George Puttenham: A Critical Edition*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007), 111-12, 106. Further citations of Puttenham are provided in the text and refer to page number.

[32] As Keilen notes: "It was from classical literature that English poets could also glean the idea that Rome had once regarded itself as the cultural subordinate of Athens and regarded Latin writing as an inferior imitation of Greek literature. Here we arrive at a constitutive paradox of the literary history that the English Renaissance fashioned for itself: Apparently, it was the image of their own primitivism and barbarity that allowed English poets to recognize, ever more clearly, the Roman aspect of their vernacular writing" (*Vulgar Eloquence*, 16).

it" [95]), rhyme adds to English poetry something "more than [the ancients] ever had" (96). As Derek Attridge has explained, in the absence of vernacular metrical forms that could replicate those of the ancients, Renaissance theorists began "to look for organizing principles of equivalent intricacy and reliability in the vernacular tradition itself."[33] Against Ascham and those who would denounce rhyming as barbarous and rude, Puttenham understands rhyme's "tunable concords or symphony" as that which enriches English poetry and sets it apart from ancient verse with its quantitative meters.

Puttenham begins his defense of English rhyme in Book 1, chapter 5 of the *Art*, and he does so on historical grounds. Here, he sets out to prove that English poetry is "no less . . . commended" than Greek and Latin verse, in part because rhyme enjoys a much longer (pre)history than the quantitative meters of the ancients: "our manner of vulgar poesy is more ancient than the artificial of the Greeks and Latins, ours coming by instinct of nature, which was before art or observation, and used with the savage and uncivil, who were before all science or civility" (100). The supplement of art, exemplified in the metrical innovations of Greece and Rome, imperils that which precedes it in time and corrupts the primary, natural inclination of "the savage and uncivil" to use rhyme in verse. Yet whatever the ancient incivility of rhyme, Puttenham's manual goes to great lengths in arguing against itself on this point, or at least in attempting to have it both

[33] Derek Attridge, "Puttenham's Perplexity: Nature, Art, and the Supplement in Renaissance Poetic Theory," in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986), 263. Attridge ultimately thinks that Puttenham attempts to do *both*, for he "scarcely mak[es] an effort to reconcile the two radically different solutions, and unintentionally provid[es] evidence both for the impossibility of a quantitative system of meter and for the prevailing lack of insight into the structures of English verse" (263). For a more generous reading of Puttenham's ability to effect a compromise between quantitative and accentual syllabic traditions, see Attridge, *Well-Weighed Syllables*, 217-19.

ways. This is especially evident in Book 2 (on "proportion poetical"), in which Puttenham undertakes to show that English rhyme is no less praiseworthy than classical verse precisely because it is a fully formalized art, one by which the poet builds intricate and sophisticated—as well as solid and durable—rhymed stanzaic forms and shaped poems from the raw materials of language and the figures he borrows from geometry and architecture. In their search for adequate poetic forms that would give to English verse the kind of cultural prestige usually reserved for the classics, English poets and theorists of poetry are finally unable to assimilate the quantitative meters of Greek and Latin verse to conform with the native rhythms of English; however, they *can* imitate the *visual* forms of the ancients, developing an architectural poetics where rhyme holds the poem's structure together.

By shifting the discussion to poetic proportion, Puttenham, in the final chapter of Book 1, begins to qualify his earlier remarks about the dearth of "cunning" poets in England, for in Elizabeth's time there "are sprung up another crew of courtly makers . . . who have written excellently well" (149). English verse, he suggests, may even be poised to surpass, if not that of the ancients, then at least the vernacular poetry currently being written on the continent: "at this day it will be found our nation is nothing inferior to the French and Italian," whether "for copy [i.e., copiousness] of language, subtlety of device, good method, and proportion in any form of poem" (147). My concern in this section will be primarily with the last of these—proportion in poetic form—and I wish to show that, despite his earlier comments about the ancient incivility and original barbarousness of rhyme, Puttenham, in linking rhymed English verse to the building arts and to classical

architectural forms, illustrates their centrality not only to poetic "making" and the defense of English rhyme but also to his optimism about the vernacular and the future of a civilized and civilizing English verse.

Sixteenth-century theorists of poetic "making" are fond of pointing to the etymological roots of the word "poet," and Puttenham is no different, writing that "[a] poet is as much to say as a maker. And our English name well conforms with the Greek word, for of [*poiein*], to make, they call a maker *poeta*."[34] At least initially, Puttenham articulates a view of poetic "making" that emphasizes the poet's singular ability to create newly compelling representations, for the poet "makes and contrives out of his own brain both the verse and matter of his poem," "express[ing] the true and lively of every thing [that] is set before him" (93). It turns out, however, that his account of poetic "making" is more strictly formal than his opening claims suggest, consisting of analyses that center on genre, proportion, and the use of different rhetorical figures in verse rather than on the poet's representations of his characters or the poem's narrative content. In contrast to the subject "matter" of the poem, "verse" has primarily to do with line length and rhyme scheme, meter and stanza construction, even the very shape of the poem, both on the page and (somewhat counterintuitively) in the ear. Even when Puttenham refers specifically to the fictions created by the poetic imagination, he does so only to argue that the imagination is not simply "fantastical" and full of the "monstrous imaginations or

[34] Sir Philip Sidney also notes how the English word *poet* "commeth of this [Greek] word *Poiein*, which is to make: wherein I know not, whether by lucke or wisedome, wee Englishmen haue mette with the Greekes in calling him a maker" (*An Apologie for Poetrie*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1.155). Further citations of Sidney appear in the text and refer to page number. Webbe similarly turns to the Greek verb *poiein*, but also to the Latin *facere*, which in English "may properly be defined the arte of making" (1.230).

conceits" that poetry's detractors often claim it is; rather, when "well affected," it is "very formal, and in [its] much multiformity uniform, that is, well proportioned" (109). Puttenham uses the word "proportion" with great variety throughout the *Art*, applying it, on the grandest scale, to the mathematical symmetry and harmony of God's universe. Juliet Fleming has even noted how the "apprehension of proportion . . . lies at the heart of Puttenham's understanding of poetic decorum, that mysterious grace whose presence is coterminous with beauty and whose English names are 'decencie . . . seemelynesse . . . comelynesse . . . and pleasant approach.'"[35] Far more often, however, Puttenham uses it to refer to the balanced and harmonious arrangement of the various building blocks of the poem itself, and it would seem that in order to avoid the label "fantastical," the inventions of the poet's imagination would require the support of well-proportioned poetic forms wherein the poet can present an ordered and harmonious representation of whatever it is he imagines.

Whereas Mulcaster's educational treatise links the tools of the architect to those of the poet, then, Puttenham's *Art* comes to focus on the poem itself as a formal structure, so that poetic "making" shades into its more material, artisanal, and architectural senses. In Book 2, Puttenham includes a chapter on what he calls "proportion in figure," that is, on poems that provide "an ocular representation" to the reader. By varying the line

[35] Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 15. See also Whigham and Rebhorn's gloss on the word in *The Art of English Poesy*, 446. The most relevant *OED* definitions for "proportion, n.," are entries 1a. ("Appropriate, fitting, or pleasing relation [of size, etc.] between things or parts of a thing; due relation of one part to another; balance, symmetry, harmony"); 2a. ("The relation existing between one thing and another in terms of size, quantity, number, or the like; comparative relation, ratio"); 2c. ("In extended use: a relation between things in regard to nature, type, etc., rather than size or quantity"); and 5. ("Form, shape; configuration [of the limbs of the body, etc.]; a likeness, a figure").

lengths of a poem, the poet takes what we often overlook as a purely incidental part of its composition—namely, its shape, a product of the poet's simply having written his poem on the page—and turns it into an essential component of the way in which we perceive its meaning. In Puttenham's words, the poet "reduce[s]" the line lengths of his poem "by good symmetry . . . into certain geometrical figures," which are plainly meant to be seen by the eye in addition to being heard by the ear (179).[36] He begins his discussion by observing (mistakenly) that, with the lone exception of a poem in the shape of an egg, the composition of which he attributes (erroneously) to Anacreon, figured poems are not "used by any of the Greek or Latin poets," nor do they occur "in any vulgar writer" (180). Instead, he tells of their popularity among the princely courts of the middle and far east, citing Turkish, Persian, Tartar, and Chinese sources for his examples of poems patterned after lozenges and triangles. Often disparaged in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England as frivolous trifles, figured poems nonetheless enjoyed a popularity strong enough to provoke so fierce a critic as Ben Jonson to lash out against them. In his conversations with William Drummond, Jonson is reported to have "said of that [unidentified] panegyrist who wrote panegyrics in acrostics, windows, crosses, that he

[36] For a terrific discussion of what John Hollander calls "the poem in the eye" (including figure poems and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century responses to them), see his *Vision and Resonance: Two Senses of Poetic Form* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1975), 245-87 (esp. 252-68, where he discusses Puttenham). On Puttenham's predominantly aural conception of verse, see Whigham and Rebhorn, "Introduction," in *The Art of English Poesy*, 44-45; and Julian Lamb, "A Defense of Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*," *ELR* 39 (2009): 24-46, who argues that Puttenham's ocular representations "are not merely representations of what the ear already hears, they declare what the ear *should* be hearing"; for Lamb, Puttenham uses the poem in the eye as a means of gaining "the ear's eventual acquiescence" to a new poetic genre and thus of acclimating his countrymen to what he hopes will become a common form in English verse (43).

was *homo miserrimae patientiae* [a man of the most wretched endurance]."[37] And although Puttenham begins his remarks by praising their briefness, their subtlety, and their art, he too seems to concede that they are little more than "some commendable exercise to keep [those at court] from idleness" (180).

Critical accounts of Puttenham's examples of shaped poems have often focused on those figures that he maintains are of middle- and far-eastern origins.[38] By contrast, I wish to emphasize Puttenham's identification of certain of his figured poems with Greek and Roman architectural structures, for his comments about the qualities obtaining in the column poem in particular have a strong bearing on the manner in which he describes both rhymed stanzaic forms and square- and rectangularly-shaped poems. Even though Puttenham can find just one lone example of a figured poem in Greek or Roman poetry, he nonetheless turns to a more familiar, occidental antiquity and the seemingly less trifling forms of classical architecture for source materials, drawing from an architectural

[37] Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-1952), 1.144. Jonson also aims his sarcasm at shaped poems in *Underwoods* XLIII ("An Execration upon Vulcan"), calling them "those finer flammes / Of Egges, and Halberds, Cradles, and a Herse, / A paire of Scisars, and a Combe in verse" (8.204). Further citations of Jonson appear in the text and refer to page number. Most entertaining of all, however, are Gabriel Harvey's comments railing "against Simmias Rhodius, a folishe idle phantasticall poett that first devised this odd riminge with many other triflinge and childishe toyes to make verses, that shoulde in proportion represente the form and figure of an egg, an ape, a winge, and sutche ridiculous and madd gugawes and crockchettes, and of late foolishely revivid by sum, otherwise not unlernid, as Pierius, Scaliger, Crispin, and the rest of that crue. Nothinge so absurd and fruteles, but beinge once taken upp shall have sume imitatoures" (*Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580*, ed. Edward John Long Scott, Camden Society Series, vol. 33 [Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1884], 100).

[38] See Margaret Church, "The First English Pattern Poems," *PMLA* 61 (1946): 636-50 (esp. 646-50); A. L. Korn, "Puttenham and the Oriental Pattern-Poem," *Comparative Literature* 6 (1954): 289-303, who suggests that Puttenham's understanding of oriental pattern poetry "was deeply colored, and in that sense predetermined, by the sixteenth-century cult of proportion and his own Elizabethan version of the *esprit géométrique*" (298); and Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts*, 13-19. On the genre of the figured poem more generally, including the different purposes to which it was put during the Renaissance, see Jeremy Adler, *Technopaigneia*, *carmina figurata*, and *Bilder-Reime*: Seventeenth-Century Figured Poetry in Historical Perspective," *Comparative Criticism: A Yearbook* 4 (1982): 107-47.

vocabulary that he distinctly associates with the ancients in order to describe some of his figures. Of the poem shaped like a spire or taper, for instance, he writes that "The Greeks call him *pyramis*," while "The Latins in use of architecture call him *obeliscus*" (184; see fig. 3a). Whereas the poems shaped after lozenges and triangles tell directly of amorous relationships in the Tartar and Persian courts (or, when they discuss the empire of the Khans, are nonetheless contextualized by Puttenham within such a relationship), it is Puttenham's obelisk poems that prove the more fit vehicle for promoting Elizabeth's majesty and England's imperial aspirations: the poem to the left, which we are asked to read from bottom to top, reports of the vow Elizabeth makes "To mount on high, / In form of spire / Like flame of fire / For to aspire / After an higher / Crown and empire"; while the one to the right, which reads from top to bottom, tells of the gifts God bestows on the queen, which include a "Most prosperous reign" and, in line with the obelisk as a symbol of immortality, "Eternal renown" (185).

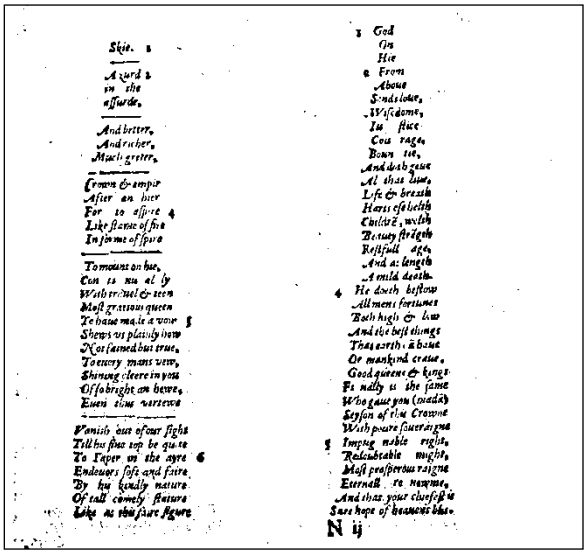


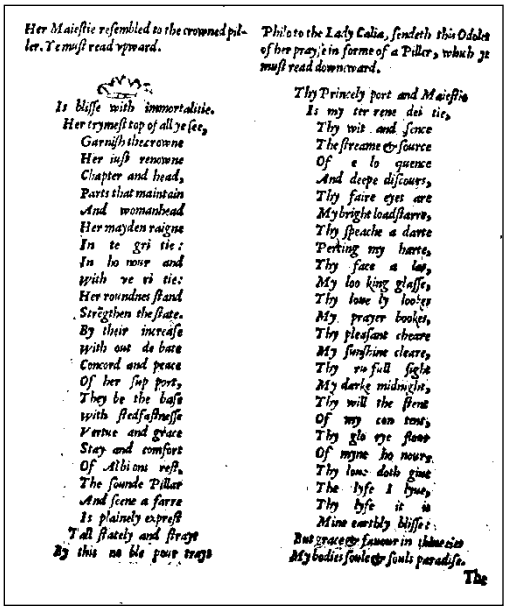
Fig. 3a. George Puttenham's examples of obelisk poems, from *The Art of English Poesy* (1589)

Puttenham reserves some of his highest praise, however, for those poems modeled after columns or pillars. In their edition of the *Art*, Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn note that he likely owned more than one copy of Vitruvius's *De architectura*,[39] and Puttenham borrows a rudimentary vocabulary from the treatises on the architectural orders in order to explain how the beginning and the end of the column poem—which is to say its top (or "chapter") and its bottom (or "pedestal")—require a longer line length than the middle, intervening lines, which make up the column's "shaft":

> The pillar is a figure among all the rest of the geometrical most beautiful, in respect that he is tall and upright and of one bigness from the bottom to the top. In architecture he is considered with two accessory parts, a pedestal or base and a chapter or head; the body is the shaft. By this figure is signified stay, support, rest, state, and magnificence. Your ditty then being reduced into the form of a pillar, his base will require to bear the breadth of a meter of six or seven or eight syllables, the shaft of four, the chapter equal with the base. (186; see fig. 3b)

Indicating the base on which a pillar stands, the term "pedestal" was, according to the *OED*, first introduced into the English lexicon in Shute's 1563 treatise. Although "chapter" and "staff" had been in use for much longer, the vocabulary is nonetheless new enough, and perhaps unfamiliar enough for audiences used to reading about poetry rather than architecture, that Puttenham feels compelled to gloss the terms for all three segments required to construct a column poem. The language of the poem, moreover, reflects what

[39] *The Art of English Poesy*, 370, n. 83.



Her Maieſtie reſembled to the crowned pil-
ler. Ye muſt read vpward.

Is bliſſe with immortalitie.
Her tryneſt top of all ye ſee,
Garniſh the crowne
Her iuſt renowne
Chapter and head,
Parts that maintain
And womanhead
Her mayden raigne
In te gri tie:
In ho nour and
with ve ri tie:
Her roundnes ſtand
Strēgthen the ſtate.
By their increaſe
With out de bate
Concord and peace
Of her ſup port,
They be the baſe
with ſtedfaſtneſſe
Vertue and grace
Stay and comfort
Of Albions reſt.
The ſounde Pillar
And ſcene a farre
Is plainely expreſt
Tall ſtately and ſtraye
By this no ble pour traye

Philo to the Lady Celia, ſendeth this Odale
of her praiſe, in forme of a Piller, which ye
muſt read downeward.

Thy Princely port and Maieſtie
Is my ter rene dei tie,
Thy wit and ſcience
The ſtreame & ſource
Of e lo quence
And deepe diſcours,
Thy faire eyes are
My bright loadſtarre,
Thy ſpeache a darte
Perſing my harte,
Thy face a lar,
My loo king glaſſe,
Thy lowe ly looke
My prayer booke,
Thy pleaſant cheare
My ſunſhine cleare,
Thy ro full ſighe
My darke midnight,
Thy will the ſtreme
Of my con tent,
Thy glo rye ſtone
Of myne ho nour,
Thy lone doth giue
The lyfe I lyue,
Thy lyfe it is
Mine earthly bliſſe:
But grace & fauour in thine eies
My bodies ſoule & ſoules paradiſe.

The

Fig. 3b. Puttenham's examples of column poems

the structure of the poem is intended to convey. Whereas Whigham and Rebhorn gloss "state" as signifying a "prosperous condition," the word can also mean quite simply a fixed or stable condition (in line with Puttenham's emphasis on "support," "stay," and "rest"), and it points directly to England as a polity: the queen's virtues, Puttenham writes, "strengthen the state" (186). Insofar as the word stems from the Latin *status*, the column is a symbol of greatness and power, splendor, solemnity, and "magnificence," qualities that make it especially well suited for describing—indeed for exemplifying in its very shape—the high and exalted stature of the queen.[40] The terms "stay" and "rest," in addition to being synonyms for "support," also suggest a pause or a halt (in this case, "a

[40] For the relevant definitions of "state, n.," paraphrased above, see the *OED* entries 1b, 6b, 16a-b, 17, and 29a. There is a strong iconographical overlap between Puttenham's obelisk and column poems about Elizabeth and the portraits of the queen that artists were beginning to produce in the early 1580s, many of which emphasize England's imperial aspirations. See, for example, the "Sieve" portrait (c. 1580-83), which includes in its backdrop to the queen's likeness a colonnade modeled after the ancient orders, a column (to the left and upon which the Queen leans) with insets of Aeneas's voyage to found the Roman

cessation of hostility or dissension'"[41]); thus, the column poem to the left, also about Elizabeth, praises the queen as "The sound pillar / Of Albion's rest" who brings "Concord and peace" to the realm.

It is clear, moreover, that Puttenham's sense of the column poem's structure has a direct connection to his account of square- and rectangularly-shaped poems and stanzas. As John Hollander remarks, Puttenham had a keen awareness of "the essential rectangularity on the page of those verse forms whose shapes, even today, we overlook as being a trivial consequence of typographical necessities."[42] Of the "square" poem, Puttenham returns to the architectural metaphor he had used in describing the pedestal of the column poem, writing that it is "of all other accounted the figure of most solidity and steadfastness, and for [its] own stay and firmity requireth none other base than [it]self" (189). When we extend the shape of the poem vertically so that it grows "some portion longer than the square" and thus more rectangular in shape, we have a figure that visually accounts for "nearly all your ditties, odes, and epigrams" that do not "exceed the number of twelve verses [i.e., lines]" or twelve syllables per line—in other words, the vast majority of verse printed during the Renaissance.[43] The inclusiveness of the shape is even

---

empire, and (to the right) a globe upon which England appears in a brilliant, otherworldly light; and William Rogers's *Eliza Triumphans* (1589), a serene, post-Armada portrait of the queen standing between two obelisks, the one on the left with a banner on which is written "CORONO," the one on the right, "EXHILARO." On the iconography of Elizabeth's portraits, see Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 34-43 and (on the c. 1580-83 "Sieve" portrait) 100-07.

[41] See "stay, n.[3]," entry 3a, in the *OED*.

[42] Hollander, *Vision and Resonance*, 261.

[43] One notable omission not covered by Puttenham's template is the fourteen-line sonnet. Though familiar with the poems of *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), from which he often draws for source materials to illustrate various poetic forms, meters, and rhetorical figures, Puttenham mentions the sonnet just once, in his brief chapter on amorous verse (Bk. 1, chap. 22). The form would nonetheless seem to fit Puttenham's

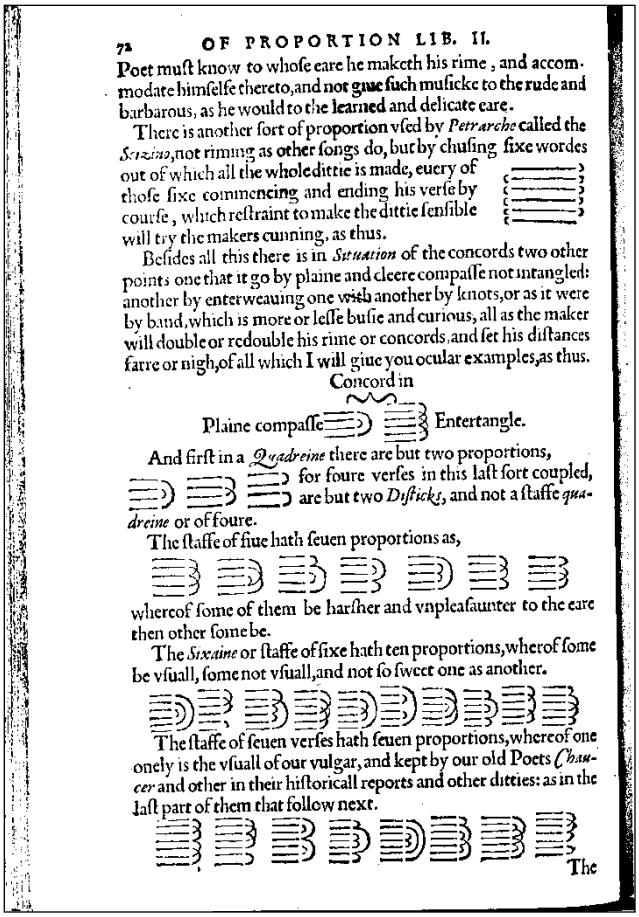
more apparent when we add in the more squarish stanzaic forms that Puttenham has just described in the previous chapter, on what he calls "proportion by situation." There, he had presented a series of "ocular example[s]" of different stanza types, and his account of the ideal stanzaic form as "a bearer or supporter of a song or ballad," or as "a resting place," approximates his description of the column poem as a figure of "stay, support, rest, state, and magnificence" (154-55). After instructing the reader with various diagrams about the several ways in which a poet can join or "band" lines of stanzaic verse together in rhyme, Puttenham turns to a metaphor drawn directly from masonry to describe the proper technique:[44]

> Now ye may perceive by these proportions before described that there is a band to be given every verse in a staff [i.e., stanza], so as none fall out alone or uncoupled, and this band maketh that the staff is said [to be] fast and not loose; even as ye see in buildings of stone or brick the mason giveth a band that is a length to two breadths, and upon necessity divers others sorts of bands to hold in the work fast and maintain the perpendicularity of the wall. (178; see fig. 4)

---

understanding of what constitutes a solid and steadfast rectangular poem; certainly, sonnets were often presented as such by Renaissance poets and printers after the Elizabethan sonneteering vogue begins in earnest after the 1591 publication of Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*. On the appearance of the Elizabethan sonnet on the page, see Dubrow, *Challenges of Orpheus*, 172-75, who argues that depending on its configuration, the sonnet can create impressions of stability or instability; Coleman Hutchison, "Breaking the Books Known as Q," *PMLA* 121 (2006): 33-66; and Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993), 70-89, who discusses page layout as one element used by poets and printers to monumentalize the sonnet sequence and its author.

[44] As Whigham and Rebhorn note, a "band" is "that which a mason gives to a wall by alternating bricks laid with the short side showing (called band-stones) and those with the long side showing. This technique strengthened the wall by thickening it, and by making sure that the joints between bricks (weak spots) were not aligned" (443).



72 OF PROPORTION LIB. II.

Poet muſt know to whoſe eare he maketh his rime, and accommodate himſelfe thereto, and not giue ſuch muſicke to the rude and barbarous, as he would to the learned and delicate eare.

There is another ſort of proportion vſed by *Petrarche* called the *Sextine*, not riming as other ſongs do, but by chuſing ſixe wordes out of which all the whole dittie is made, euery of thoſe ſixe commencing and ending his verſe by courſe, which reſtraint to make the dittie ſenſible will try the makers cunning, as thus.

Beſides all this there is in *Situation* of the concords two other points one that it go by plaine and cleere compaſſe not intangled: another by enterweauing one with another by knots, or as it were by band, which is more or leſſe buſie and curious, all as the maker will double or redouble his rime or concords, and ſet his diſtances farre or nigh, of all which I will giue you ocular examples, as thus.

Concord in

Plaine compaſſe Entertangle.

And firſt in a *Quadreine* there are but two proportions,

for foure verſes in this laſt ſort coupled, are but two *Diſticks*, and not a ſtaffe *quadreine* or of foure.

The ſtaffe of fiue hath ſeuen proportions as,

whereof ſome of them be harſher and vnpleaſaunter to the eare then other ſome be.

The *Sixaine* or ſtaffe of ſixe hath ten proportions, whereof ſome be vſuall, ſome not vſuall, and not ſo ſweet one as another.

The ſtaffe of ſeuen verſes hath ſeuen proportions, whereof one onely is the vſuall of our vulgar, and kept by our old Poets *Chaucer* and other in their hiſtoricall reports and other ditties: as in the laſt part of them that follow next.

The

Fig. 4. Puttenham's diagrams of possible rhyme schemes for various stanza lengths

The shorter the distance between rhyme words within a stanza, Puttenham discerns, the "faster" or tighter the "band" will be, that is, the more firmly fixed and stable the structure; the farther the distance, the more "loose" and thus the more likely the structure could "fall asunder" and seem, at least to the ear, to break into separate stanzas (178). Such a "loose," incompact structure would in turn make retention more difficult and the poem's subject matter seem disconnected. Architectural in the broad sense that it compares poems to buildings, the metaphor that Puttenham here develops from masonry

does not suggest the architectural orders. Indeed, while he looks to classical architecture in his account of the column poem, he more often looks to craftsmen's professions for his metaphors: in the *Art*'s final chapter, he will return to the analogy with building, comparing the poet who "useth his metrical proportions by appointed and harmonical measures and distances" to "the carpenter or joiner" (385).[45] Although Puttenham looks to the architectural treatises to describe certain of his verse forms, imparting to them the cultural prestige associated with classical architectural forms, he does so without making the comparison between the structures of English verse and classical architecture a strict and rigorous one. At the same time, the overlap in his vocabulary for describing both the column poem and the different stanzaic forms suggests that all poems and stanzas of a certain line length resemble columns, where rhyme is the mortar that binds the stanza together and makes its structure both durable and—for the auditor in particular—coherent.

In a recent study of Renaissance lyric, Heather Dubrow has written about the emphasis Puttenham places on fixity and cohesiveness—on "stability in size and structure"—in these chapters of the *Art*, and she urges readers to focus on those moments, both in the poetry of the period and in the theories about poetic "making," when the vocabulary stresses structural solidity. The constructed strength of the stanza, she

[45] In the sixteenth century, there was less separation between the architect and the different types of craftsmen involved in the building process, whom we tend to understand as working for the architect, as following his designs; or, as Yarwood puts it: "There were no architects in the modern understanding of the term" (*Architecture in Britain*, 94).

contends, shores up the poem "against the ruins of fragmentation."[46] By focusing our attention on the individual poem as a paradigm of structural unity, coherence, and stability rather than on the fragmented nature of a genre such as the lyric sequence, Puttenham's manual resists the Petrarchan emphasis on *rime sparse*. Yet Puttenham's use of architectural metaphors does more than simply counteract the lyricist's partiality to tropes that thematize the scattering of verse; rather, they tap into the ways in which the myths of the poet-civilizer have been told since the time of Cicero and Horace. In the English Renaissance, these myths are profoundly architectural in their vocabulary. In his *Defence of Poetry* (1579), Thomas Lodge, citing the passage from Horace's *Ars* with which we began, states simply "that Poetes were the first raysors of cities."[47] Later retellings of the myth, however, focus increasingly on Amphion's role as a builder: whereas Sidney notes how "*Amphion* was sayde to moue stones with his Poetrie to build Thebes" (1.151), Puttenham tells how Amphion, a poet of "the first ages, . . . built up cities and reared walls with the stones that came in heaps to the sound of his harp" (96). In the will to architectural form and civilization, then, Amphion's song works against phenomena of dispersal and fragmentation, moving stones to the sound of his harp in order to form the architectural structures necessary to establish civilization. By "cause[ing] Citties to be builded" with his poetry, as Webbe phrases it, Amphion also

[46] Dubrow, *The Challenges of Orpheus*, 158, 167. The scattering of verse is thematized most prominently in Renaissance sonnet sequences. For two different takes on the dialectic between the scattered and the gathered, the fragment and the collection, in Petrarch's *Rime sparse*, see Nancy J. Vickers, "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): 265-79; and Teodolinda Barolini, "The Making of a Lyric Sequence: Time and Narrative in Petrarch's *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*," *MLN* 104 (1989): 1-38. I will return to this dialectic within the context of Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* in the following chapter.

[47] Thomas Lodge, *Defence of Poetry*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 1.75.

straddles the potential divide between the arts, showing how poetry and architecture can work together as intimate companions towards the same civilizing ends (1.234). Though divinely inspired, Amphion can also be read as a figure for the poetic "maker," and he finds an analogue for his construction of Thebes in the Renaissance poet's imaginative arrangement of the building blocks of the poem that Puttenham's manual discusses at length, so that the poet forms an eloquent and well-proportioned—and in the last analysis, a civilized and civilizing—poetic structure.

In bringing poetry and architecture together, the myth of Amphion also suggests a more general correspondence between the aural and the visual, a correspondence that Puttenham details in his proposed method for reading verse. For it relies on the "natural sympathy between the eye and the ear": "Your ocular proportion doth declare the nature of the audible, for if it please the ear well, the same represented by delineation to the view pleaseth the eye well, and *e converso*" (175). What sounds good should also look good, though Puttenham acknowledges room for variation depending on audience. In judging the relative strengths and weaknesses of the various stanzaic forms, for example, Puttenham considers the number of intervening lines between two rhyme words (or the distance between rhyme words in any poem or stanza) and explains that the poet must know the audience for whom he writes and whether or not its members will be capable of hearing rhyme words that, on the page, would appear quite far apart from one another. Nevertheless, the visual, architectural poetics that Puttenham sets up in these chapters on "poetic proportion" shifts the emphasis away from his earlier insistence on the "voluble" and "slipper" quality of words upon the tongue and in the ear (98). While these qualities

characterize verse as having an easy fluency when uttered aloud, they also suggest the poem's liability to transitoriness and instability. In his discussion of poetic form, by contrast, Puttenham describes a series of verse forms that, taken together, underscore the poem's durability, that is, its "stay": as imitative approximations of the column poem's architectural strength, those square- and rectangularly-shaped poems and stanzas, too, have a permanence, a continued presence over time.[48] His description of the column poem as a figure of "stay" also suggests that it serves more than just an immediate, occasional function. In drawing attention to the poem "in its fully material, visual mode," Fleming has shown how figured poems resemble what Puttenham calls *posies*, those "purpose-made" and often portable inscriptions that are "produced in relation to the material surfaces on which [they] appear."[49] Puttenham's description of the column poem, however, asks us to reconsider whether all shaped poems are, in marking a specific occasion, equally for the nonce. To be sure, such a poem fits Fleming's definition of a "posy" insofar as the poem "understands [it]self to be written *on* something."[50] We can understand the column poem metaphorically as an inscription of a poetic text onto a stone monument; in this sense, the poem may even call attention to the material contingency of the stone it evokes. Yet whatever the column poem's occasional status as praise for the queen may be, as a figure of "stay," it also implies its lasting power and calls attention to

[48] See "stay, n.[3]" in the *OED*, entries 6 ("the action or fact of staying or remaining in a place, continued presence"), 6c ("continuance in a state, duration"), and 6d ("staying power; power of endurance; strength; power of resistance").

[49] Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts*, 21, 19. Examples of posies include "the mottoes, emblems, imprese, coats-of-arms and other heraldic or signature devices with which the Elizabethan court decorated itself" (20). On the overlap between the shaped poem and the emblem, see Peter M. Daly, *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979), 123-33.

[50] Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts*, 20-21.

the transmissibility—though perhaps not the infinite transmissibility—of its image of the queen to posterity long after the poem's initial, occasional moment has passed.

In contrast to the similarity of poetic language to the momentary, transitory quality of the spoken utterance, then, the poem in the eye "leads us into history."[51] Of course, the broadly imitative poetics of so much Renaissance verse leads us into history regardless of whether we perceive the poem chiefly through the eye or the ear, and as John Hollander notes, the printed poem has simultaneously a visual as well as an auditory dimension to it.[52] Yet the Renaissance poem in the eye that results from the poet's imitation of classical architectural forms leads us into history in very particular, culturally specific ways, for it takes us not only to the classical past of the Greeks and Romans but also to a future in which the English Renaissance will have become ancient history. In general, Puttenham centers his analysis on the formal coherence of the poem, that is, on its spatial dimensions and the simultaneity of all its parts, which, as in looking at an architectural structure, we take in all at once. However, he is (like Shute, I think) implicitly just as concerned with both the successful transference of ancient monumentality to Renaissance England and an imagined transference of a monumental English verse to posterity. Indeed, Puttenham's version of a visual poetic monumentality would have almost certainly evoked for his contemporaries the actual stone columns of Rome; at the same time, his descriptions of the verse forms we have considered abstract the poem from the architectural ruins of Rome and the historical, material loss of

[51] Hollander, *Vision and Resonance*, 247.
[52] See Hollander, *Vision and Resonance*, 248. On the distinctively historical nature of Renaissance imitation and intertextuality, see in particular Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982).

antiquity more generally. Although he notes that a poorly constructed stanza in which the rhyme words are too far apart could "fall asunder," he by and large ignores the potential for ruin in the metaphorical slippage between stone and poetic text. Nor does he tend to think of poetry and architecture as rivals; poetic monuments are not *more* lasting than brass or stone, as both Horace's ode and Shakespeare's imitation of it claim they are: "Not marble nor the gilded monuments / Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme."[53] Here, Shakespeare distinguishes the impermanence of the gilded monuments of princes from the essential durability of the poem. For Puttenham, however, the relationship between architecture and poetry—between stone and poetic text—is more on the order of a similitude than a rivalrous contrast emphasizing the differences in their potential to last. In presenting a model of endurance that ascribes a different set of qualities to architectural monuments than Shakespeare's sonnet does, Puttenham uses architecture as an implicit part of his defense of English rhyme, literature, and culture. By so doing, he projects an optimism that English verse may one day rival that of even the ancients themselves—"why should not poesy be a vulgar art with us as well as with the Greeks and Latins?" (95)—and he exudes a confidence that English rhyme and rhymed stanzaic forms are plenty elegant and durable enough to stake their claim to a future existence with a future audience.

For a more explicit example than Puttenham's of the translative function of the architectural in English verse, we can turn to Michael Drayton's prefatory material to the reader of his *Barrons Wars*. The 1603 version of the poem rewrites an earlier one,

[53] William Shakespeare, *The Sonnets*, ed. Stephen Booth (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977), 48.

entitled *Mortimeriados* (1596), in which Drayton employs rhyme royal throughout. Drayton, however, objects to the fact that rhyme royal (ababbcc) ends with two sets of couplets, writing that "the often harmonie thereof softned the verse more then the maiestie of the subiect would permit, vnlesse they had all been Geminels, or couplets."[54] As a corrective, Drayton revises the poem by employing *ottava rima* throughout, just as Ariosto had done in writing *Orlando Furioso*: "I chose *Ariostos* stanza of all other the most complete, and best proportioned" (sig. A3^{r}). Yet rather than claiming Ariosto's stanzaic form as his lone model, he additionally compares *ottava rima* to the Tuscan order:

> Briefely, this sort of stanza hath in it maiestie, perfection, & soliditie, resembling the piller which in Architecture is called the Tuscan, whose shaft is of sixe diameters, & bases of two. . . . This [stanza] of eight [lines] both holds the tune clea[n]e through to the base of the columne (which is the couplet at the foote or bottom) & closeth not but with a full satisfaction to the eare for so long detention. (sig. A3^{r}; see fig. 5)

The opening six lines of Drayton's stanza make up the shaft of the column, while the couplet provides its base (the analogy is inexact, as Drayton makes no allowance for a capital), and his account of the Tuscan order reiterates those accounts of it that we find in

[54] Michael Drayton, *The Barrons Wars in the Raigne of Edward the Second. With Englands Heroicall Epistles* (London, 1603), sig. A3^{r}. Further citations of Drayton's preface and poem appear in the text. According to Drummond, Jonson denounces the "forced" nature of all stanzaic forms while favoring couplets, which he calls "the bravest sort of Verses" (1.128).

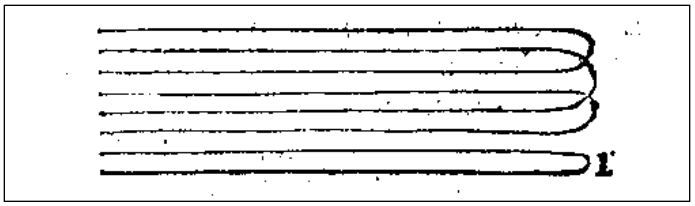


Fig. 5. Michael Drayton's diagram of "*ottava rima"* in the preface to his *Barons Warres* (1603)

the architectural treatises, where it is a paradigm of strength and solidity.[55] Among all the orders, Shute writes, the Tuscan is "the stro[n]gest and most able to beare the greatest of burte[n] of all the others" (sig. B.4^{v}). Likewise Hans Blum, whose treatise on the orders was first translated into English in 1601 as *The Booke of Five Collumnes of Architecture*, writes that "the Tuscan is the strongest of them all, hauing the first place in order."[56] Drayton's comment about the "maiestie" of *ottava rima* also echoes Puttenham's own, which states that the stanza is a proportion "of eight verses very stately and heroic, and which I like better than that of seven [i.e., rhyme royal] because it receiveth better band" (155). And like Puttenham, Drayton's sense of *ottava rima* as columnar has an auditory dimension to it as well as a visual one ("it closeth not but with a full satisfaction to the eare"), as if we were supposed to hear the structure as architectural in addition to seeing it as such.

Drayton takes Puttenham one step further, however, borrowing from the theory of the orders not for describing a column poem but rather to account for his choice of stanza

[55] Dubrow briefly discusses this passage in *The Challenges of Orpheus*, 167-68. Of note: Drayton's drawing in both the 1603 and 1619 editions does not actually diagram the *ottava rima* stanza, which rhymes abababcc, but rather an interwoven (or as Puttenham would say, "entertangle[d]" [177]) type of eight-line stanza rhyming abacbcdd.

[56] Blum, *The Booke of Five Collumnes*, 2.

by referring it to an explicitly classical architectural form. To be sure, English poets are to continue imitating the best the ancient authors have to offer, and Drayton is no exception, his preface recognizing at the level of genre such models as Homer, Virgil, and Statius in addition to the moderns Ariosto and Spenser. Yet at the level of verse forms, where there are no ancient models, Drayton's poem becomes aware of the distant past by way of the architectural orders and the visual arts. By shoring the poem's structure against ruin and fragmentation, moreover, Drayton offsets the kind of humanist pathos about the historical and material loss of antiquity that Ascham captures so lucidly in the *Scholemaster*. Writing about the texts of the ancients, he laments: "Som peeces remaine, like broken Iewelles, whereby men may rightlie esteme, and iustlie lament, the losse of the whole" (267). In contrast, Drayton presents a model of cultural transference that is essentially recuperative and restorative rather than elegiac in nature, where the architectural orders of antiquity have been reconfigured in the English poem. The shared structure between the column and the stanza underscores Drayton's sense of the historical continuity with—and perhaps more importantly the transference of cultural authority from—the ancients (represented in the architectural orders) to the Italians and Ariosto (whose stanza form mimics the ancient Tuscan order) to Drayton's own English poem in *ottava rima* about the continuing endurance "Of a strong Nation," even in the face of civil strife (B.1^{r}). The convergence of the arts in Drayton's preface thus suggests a more full-fledged, synthesizing *translatio* of ancient culture than if his poem were imitating ancient texts alone. By invoking classical architectural forms within his brief discussion of poetic form and imitation, his preface asks us to glimpse its imitations of the ancients by way of

the eye at least as much as it expects us to hear its intertextual echoes of ancient and modern poems through the ear.

III: *Samuel Daniel's Anti-classicizing Architectural Poetics*

So far, I have argued that the debate about the status of English rhyme is intimately bound up with the rise of a new and frequently classicizing architectural discourse in England. Yet not all shared Puttenham's and Drayton's desire to import classical architectural forms as a way to validate the artfulness of rhymed English verse forms. In this regard, the contrast with Samuel Daniel's *Defence of Ryme* is a sharp one. Deeply conservative in nature, it argues against the need for any further "innouation" in English verse.[57] In making the case that English rhyme is not "grosse, vulgare, barbarous" (129), Daniel takes on the likes of Roger Ascham and Thomas Campion, both of whom were attempting to import Greek and Latin quantitative meters into English verse; instead, he argues that rhyme lends "a Harmonie, farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer shew vs," and "dooth adde more grace, and hath more of delight than euer bare numbers . . . can possibly yeeld" (132).

Yet even if Daniel shuns ancient models as providing an adequate basis for English verse, his is still an architectural poetics, and he continues the defense of English rhyme on architectural grounds. In particular, he concentrates on the "small roome" of the sonnet, a metaphor more spatial than architectural, and stanzaic forms of six, seven,

[57] Samuel Daniel, *Poems and A Defence of Ryme*, ed. Arthur Colby Sprague (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1930), 146. Further citations of Daniel's *Defence* are provided in the text and refer to page number.

and eight lines long. With more precision than Puttenham, he writes of the importance of the sonnet's design in bounding the innate confusions of the imagination and shaping them into something coherent and beautiful.[58] In a passage that almost certainly has in mind the unruly passions of amorous desire that the Renaissance sonnet both represents and (in Daniel's account of the form) would seem to contain, he writes: "[T]he body of our imagination, being as an vnformed *Chaos* without fashion," requires to "be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, . . . especially seeing our passions are often without measure" (138). The necessity of creating a well-wrought space where the poet's imaginings are given shape is also part of Daniel's discussion of stanzaic forms, in which his defense of English rhyme becomes more quarrelsome, the rivalrous context whereby he pits classical influence against native forms more pronounced than it is in his comments on the sonnet. Daniel observes that English stanzaic forms are "such, as neither the Greekes and Latines euer attained vnto," and he belittles the ancients "[f]or their boundless running on": because their poems lack rhyme to hold them firmly together, the ancients easily confound their readers, who "must either giue off vnsatisfied, or vncertainely cast backe to retriue the escaped sence, and to find way againe into this matter" (139). By the end of his discussion on the forms of English verse, however, Daniel brings the discussion around to the square, a tool used for testing the exactness of the architect's work. In a comment that comes off as more derisive than it at first appears, he concludes by stating that "all our vnderstandings are not to be built by the square of

[58] See Michael R. G. Spiller, *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1992), who emphasizes Daniel's appeal to "Neoplatonic ideas of natural and divine harmony" and his conception of the sonnet as a vehicle that aims to "control the chaos of passion, and draw it to a civil behavior" (135, 136).

Greece and *Italie*" (139). Because the metaphoric square used for measuring ancient poetry is off, Daniel implies, Greek and Roman poetry lacks the kinds of well-proportioned poetic structures that could rein in the wild conceits of the imagination and the irrational impulses of the passions.

Together, these passages on the capacity of English rhyme to shape desire, fancy, and language into something ordered, elegant, and coherent lead into Daniel's comments about the magnificence of England's native architecture:

> Let vs go no further, but looke vpon the wonderfull Architecture of this state of *England*, and see whether they were deformed times, that could giue it such a forme. Where there is no one the least pillar of Maiestie, but was set with most profound iudgment and borne vp with the iust conueniencie of Prince and people. No Court of Iustice, but laide by the Rule and Square of Nature, and the best of the best commonwealths that euer were in the world. So strong and substantial, as it hath stood against al the storms of factions, both of beliefe & ambition, which so powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempestuous alterations of humorous times whatsoeuer. (145-46)

At first glance Daniel would seem to have in mind England's actual, native architectural structures. Yet it soon becomes clear that he is thinking of architecture and "forme" in the broadest possible sense, in other words, a governmental, institutional architecture of state, "[s]o strong and substantial" as to be able to withstand all the newfangled innovations that "beat vpon it" from without. Daniel, however, is not quite the purist he claims to be

in promoting English rather than classical forms: most prominently, the original title-page to the *Defence* displays not gothic architectural forms but rather classical ones for its borders, the paratextual framework providing a visual entrance into the text that suggests the kind of classicizing architectural defense of English rhyme that I have been tracing throughout this chapter (see fig. 6). As John Pitcher notes, this particular title-page was used just one other time in the English Renaissance, in Daniel's 1601 *Works*, suggesting that Daniel had some say in choosing what the entry-way into his text would look like.[59]

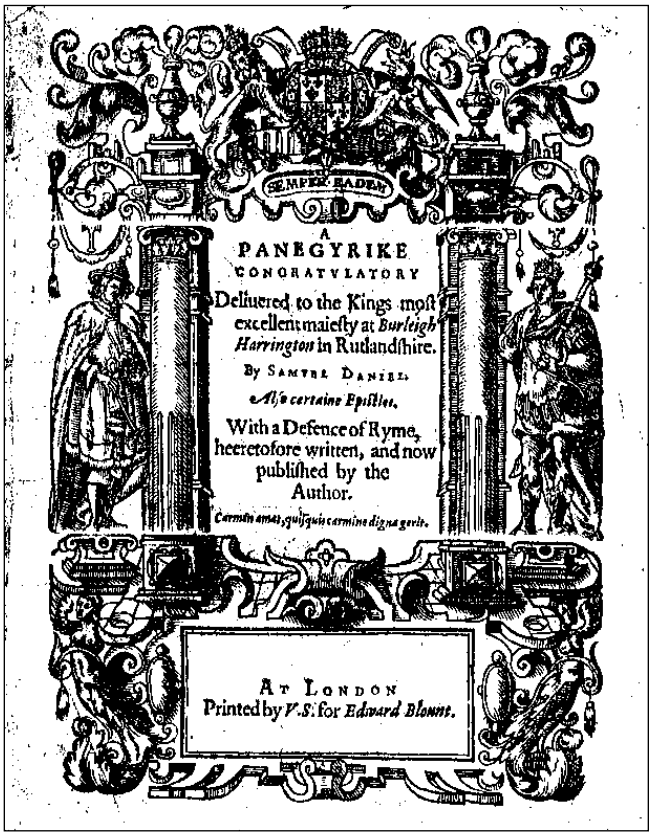


Fig. 6. The title-page to Samuel Daniel's *Defence of Ryme* (1603)

[59] See John Pitcher, "Essays, Works and Small Poems: Divulging, Publishing and Augmenting the Elizabethan Poet, Samuel Daniel," in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000), 14.

Moreover, although Daniel lauds the "*Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Longobards*" for leaving "their laws and customes [to England] as the originalls of most of the prouinciall constitutions of Christendome," the passage in which he praises England's architecture compares the foundational structures of the English state to those of republican Rome. For it is "the glory of [Rome's] common-wealth" that provides the initial model of state, that is, before Rome ruins its "first frame," devolves into imperial tyranny, and promulgates "grosse confusion" throughout the world: "Had not vnlearned *Rome* laide the better foundation, and built the stronger frame of an admirable state, eloquent *Rome* had confounded it vtterly" (144-45). For Daniel, the artificial forms of Roman eloquence, which includes its meters, are at the center of Rome's downfall, and the confusions in comprehension that Roman eloquence creates in turn reflect a much greater problem at the level of the state: "we saw . . . the plaine course of dissolution in her greatest skill [i.e., eloquence]" (144). It is a process, Daniel implies, that he hopes the English will not mistakenly repeat in adopting the quantitative meters of Rome while abandoning the architectural strength and stability that rhymed verse provides.

Given the string of architectural metaphors that Daniel had previously employed in his discussion of both the sonnet and the stanza, the passage also asks us to look upon the "wonderfull Architecture" of English verse, which, like England's governmental and legal institutions, were "laide by the Rule and Square of Nature." For Daniel, the "known formes" of English rhyme champion a native tradition that is distinctly, self-consciously anticlassical in nature, and its continued practice by English poets will help to assure the perpetual strength and stability of the architecture of the English state (134). As

Helgerson notes, however, Daniel takes what English verse had previously borrowed from France and Italy and makes it "appear native and natural" to English poetic form: "what Daniel so marvelously obscures," Helgerson writes, is that "[r]ime itself had been borrowed from the French little more than two centuries earlier, and the form that rime most often took, the form of the fourteen-line sonnet that Campion attacks and that Daniel practices, was a still more recent acquisition."[60] If, according to Helgerson, Daniel establishes "the legitimacy" of English rhyme "through the invention of tradition . . . to which some of its most recent cultural innovations might be attributed," then Puttenham and Drayton devise an alternate tradition, one that relies more heavily on a classical rather than a would-be gothic architecture for its legitimacy.[61] Its flexibility allows them to see in English poetic structures the architectural forms of antiquity, to imitate ancient forms without having to recreate the ancients' meters. Puttenham and Drayton acknowledge their imports without Daniel's sleight-of-hand as they fashion—as well as celebrate—a mixed cultural heritage in describing English poetic forms.

As architecture becomes a more integral part of English vernacular poetics, then, we find theorists using it to defend English poetry in contrasting ways: on the one hand there is Daniel, who devises an architectural poetics using rhyme as the mortar holding the structure of the poem together in order to show the superiority of English poetry to that of the unbounded verse of the ancients; on the other, we see theorists such as Puttenham and especially Drayton taking what was generally understood as native and

[60] Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 39.
[61] Ibid.

natural and giving to it a distinctly classical, even Roman, inflection. While both camps rely on architecture to offer a confident defense of English rhyme, the latter uses the theoretical strength of the classical orders to convey a hopeful model of English poetic monumentality and cultural transference, one that breaks down the boundaries between the sister arts of poetry and architecture as well as between what could be considered English and what classical. Alice T. Friedman has argued that Elizabethan painters, architects, and sculptors fashioned a consciously chosen visual style that allowed them to situate their artistic subjects "simultaneously . . . in the traditional past and in the fashionable humanist present."[62] I would suggest that the theorists of rhetoric, poetics, and vernacularity did similarly: their appropriation of classical architectural theory provided them with a novel, flexible means for addressing charges of rudeness, incivility, and barbarism. Rather than giving up on what had long become (rhyme) or what were quickly becoming (*ottava rima* and the sonnet) the characteristic forms of English verse because of their departures from classical norms, Puttenham and Drayton instead legitimize them by describing those forms in architectural—which is to say in classicizing and civilizing—terms, anticipating Jonson's more robust adaption of Vitruvian theory to English poetry.[63] They create an architectural poetics for English rhyme the strength and stability of which hints that *English* poetry may have more in common with the visual, architectural forms of the ancients than does the poetry of the ancients. The move is not without its irony; indeed, to the degree that English theorists

[62] Friedman, "Did England Have a Renaissance?" 96.
[63] On Jonson and architecture, see in particular A. W. Johnson, *Ben Jonson: Poetry and Architecture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

discuss the architecture of rhyme in classicizing terms, they make English poems appear more classical in form than their adoption of the ancients' quantitative meters ever could—more so than the unrhymed poems of the ancients themselves.

Theirs is also an architectural poetics that implicitly connects the characteristic forms of English rhyme to the originary poet-architect of classical myth. Puttenham, in reflecting upon the ancientness of poetry and the civilizing force of the well-proportioned poetic form, writes of Amphion: "Whereupon it is feigned that Amphion and Orpheus, two poets of the first ages, one of them, to wit, Amphion, built up cities and reared walls with the stones that came in heaps to the sound of his harp, figuring thereby the mollifying of hard and stony hearts by his sweet and eloquent persuasion" (96). For Puttenham, the stones that would become the building blocks for the walls also serve as figures for the "hard and stony hearts" of the people whom the poet attempts to civilize. For Spenser, to whose *Complaints* volume I will now turn, the myth has a more concrete referent, as Amphion's building of Thebes becomes a crucial point of comparison in his account of the material dissolution and the possible restoration of ancient Rome. As we will see, his meditations on the material contingency of Rome's monuments indicate that ruin threatens even amid the civilizing effects of an architectural poetics and thus leaves the future of English poetic monuments on unstable ground.

Chapter 2

Edmund Spenser's Ruins: English Poetry and the Architectural Aftermath of Rome

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?

-Horace, *Odes* 3.6.45

Better the cleanup committee concern itself with
Some item that is now little more than a feature
Of some obsolete style—cornice or spandrel
Out of the dimly remembered whole
Which probably lacks true distinction.

-John Ashbery, "The Grand Gallop"

In a 1579 letter to Edmund Spenser about the cultural status of the English vernacular, Gabriel Harvey exclaims, "What a goddes name passe [i.e., care] we what was dun in ruinous Athens or decayid Roome a thousand or twoe thousande yeares ago?"[1] The comment has the feel of one lashing out in frustration at the enormity of the project facing English writers who hope that England may one day rival the literary greatness of Greece and Rome. When placed within the larger context of the letter's concerns about the low status of English, however, it suggests not that the English should give up caring

[1] Gabriel Harvey, *Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580* (Camden Society Series, vol. 33), ed. Edward John Long Scott (Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1884), 66. Further citations of Harvey's *Letter-book* appear in the text and refer to page number.

about the ancients, nor even that they care too much; rather, they do not care enough. Harvey implies that the English mistakenly dismiss ancient letters by failing to differentiate them from the architectural ruin of antiquity, and that they are thus unable to see their potential worth to English vernacular poetry. In contrast to England, the most "floorishingest States" of Italy, France, and Spain attempt "to make the very most of ther vulgare tunges": they "amplifye and enlarge them, devising all ordinarye and extraordinary helpes, both for the polisshinge and refininge them at home, and alsoe for the spreddinge and dispersinge of them abroade," in the hope that they will "advaunce ther own languages above the very Greake and Lattin, if it were possible" (65-66). Harvey's final qualification is telling, for there are no guarantees that the moderns will match the ancients. What stands out as the target of his frustration, though, is less Athens and Rome than his fellow countrymen, who devalue their own vernacular and fall behind their contemporary rivals in the race to create a new empire of letters.

Few Renaissance poets took more seriously the architectural as a vehicle for thinking about the written than Spenser did. And nowhere is Spenser more engaged with the architectural metaphor implicit in Harvey's letter and what it might mean for English verse than in those poems that he translated and wrote during the 1570s and 1580s for what would eventually become his 1591 *Complaints* volume. As is well known, Spenser's sense of the relationship between poetry and the architectural aftermath of antiquity was shaped by the French verse of Joachim du Bellay, whose 1558 sonnet sequence *Les Antiquitez de Rome* Spenser translated as the *Ruines of Rome: by Bellay*. Whereas studies of Du Bellay's sequence have often focused on the ironies that it creates

in its imitations of ancient authors, critical accounts of the *Ruines of Rome* have emphasized instead how Spenser's translation subtly rewrites Du Bellay's sequence.[2] In particular, A. E. B. Coldiron has argued that *Ruines* gradually reverses the historical pessimism of the *Antiquitez*, so that it begins to resolve Du Bellay's ambivalences about the prospects for a secular, vernacular literary immortality and prepares the way for "a newly optimistic view of the poet's role in history."[3] Yet while Spenser's sequence is perhaps more optimistic than the *Antiquitez* about the future of vernacular poetry, it is far less so when considered in relation to the writers we considered in chapter one. There, we saw how new architectural theories stemming from Vitruvius became more pervasive in English culture throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, and we traced how an architectural vocabulary emphasizing structural fixity, cohesiveness, and long-lastingness recurs in the English poetics manuals that saw stone and poetic text as inseparable

[2] On the "labyrinth of ironies" of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez* (228), see Thomas M. Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1982), 220-41. On the intertextual relationship between Du Bellay and Spenser, see Hassan Melehy, *The Poetics of Literary Transfer in Early Modern France and England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 75-93; A. E. B. Coldiron, "How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*: Or, The Role of the Poet, Lyric Historiography, and the English Sonnet," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 101 (2002): 41-67; Leonard Barkan, "Ruins and Visions: Spenser, Pictures, Rome," in *Edmund Spenser: Essays on Culture and Allegory*, ed. J. K. Morrison and M. Greenfield (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 9-36; Richard Danson Brown, *The New Poet: Novelty and Tradition in Spenser's* Complaints (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1999), 63-95; Anne Lake Prescott, "Spenser (Re)Reading Du Bellay: Chronology and Literary Response," in *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography*, ed. Judith H. Anderson, Donald Cheney, and David A. Richardson (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1996), 131-45; Prescott, "Du Bellay in Renaissance England: Recent Work on Translation and Response," *Œuvres et Critiques* 20 (1995): 121-28; Simone Dorangeon, "Les *Complaints* de Spenser et l'héritage de Du Bellay," *Oeuvres & Critiques: Revue Internationale d'Etude de la Reception Critique d'Etude des Oeuvres Litteraires de Langue* 20 (1995): 175-82; Margaret Ferguson, "'The Afflatus of Ruin': Meditations on Rome by Du Bellay, Spenser, and Stevens," in *Roman Images*, ed. Annabel Patterson (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984), 23-50; Lawrence Manley, "Spenser and the City: The Minor Poems," *MLQ* 43 (1982): 203-27; and Prescott, *French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), 48-51.

[3] Coldiron, "How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*," 42. On ambivalence in the *Antiquitez*, see G. W. Pigman III, "Du Bellay's Ambivalence towards Rome in the *Antiquitez*," in *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. Paul Ramsey (Binghamton: MRTS, 1982), 321-32.

companions in the quest for both an English *translatio* of ancient culture and a vernacular literary immortality. For Spenser as for Du Bellay, however, architectural metaphors point not to the durability of the poetic monument as outlined by the theorists, nor even to the material, monumental grandeur of antiquity; rather, their analogies between architecture and poetry suggest that ruin encroaches upon the poetic monument just as it had for Rome's monuments.

Critical accounts have often noted Du Bellay's engagement with Horace's famous ode comparing poetry to stone as the *Antiquitez* vacillates between emphasizing the immortality of poetry and the ephemerality of everything manmade.[4] In this chapter, I foreground the ways in which these Renaissance sonneteers bring a model of Petrarchan desire to bear on the Horatian *monumentum* and—with regard to Spenser—the future of English verse. In particular, I consider these sonnet sequences in light of Nancy J. Vickers's influential study of Petrarch's *Rime sparse,* which understands Petrarchan desire in dialectical terms, as oscillating "between the scattered and the gathered, the integrated and the disintegrated."[5] Focusing on the *Rime*'s gender dynamics, Vickers scrutinizes the central role that the verb *spargere* plays within a sequence in which the poet-lover attempts to gather together the scattered features of the beloved's body in order to form a complete and totalizing image of her. In the conceptual shift from fleshly bodies to architectural ones, I argue, Du Bellay and Spenser draw attention to the

[4] On Du Bellay's intertextual engagement with Horace, see in particular Eric MacPhail, "The Roman Tomb or the Image of the Tomb in Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 48 (1986): 359-72.

[5] Nancy J. Vickers, "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): 272.

terminological overlap between Petrarchan scattering and gathering and the myth of Amphion, which describes the founding of civilization by using a similar vocabulary. By dramatizing how the movement from an initial scattering to an originary, foundational moment—when stones were raised and people brought together—could easily be reversed to suggest a process of dispersal in the move away from perceived origins, Du Bellay and Spenser refigure the Petrarchan trope to articulate hopes about the possible recuperation of ancient texts and buildings, as well as fears that such a task is impossible. These sequences thus offer a tacit acknowledgment of the difference between the mythic Amphion and his power to move stones in creating civilization and the Renaissance poet's incapacity to do the same with Rome's ruins in order to re-create it, between poetry as a vehicle for quickening the Roman dead and one for offering no more than a lively representation of them in verse.

The Petrarchan trope is, moreover, always about the scattering and gathering of written *fragmenta*—as such, it is a trope whose referent is relentlessly textual.[6] By using it within the context of sonnet sequences that foreground the material relationship between Rome's ruined architecture and the future of the vernacular poem, Du Bellay and Spenser put increasing pressure on the durability of the written *monumentum* as an object of desire. What Spenser's translation reproduces, then—in English, for an English audience, and at a crucial stage in the development of English verse—is the sense of the

[6] See Teodolinda Barolini, "The Making of a Lyric Sequence: Time and Narrative in Petrarch's *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*," *MLN* 104 (1989): 1-38, who studies the *Rime*'s oscillations between the scattered and the gathered, the fragment and the collection, from the perspective not of gender but rather of genre and structure, arguing that Petrarch paradoxically attempts both to stop time and resist death by refusing a narrative sequentiality *and* to collect the individual poems (the *fragmenta*) into a coherent, forward-moving personal narrative.

precariousness of the future of vernacular poetry that Harvey so lucidly captures in his letter and that had previously plagued Du Bellay in considering the future of his own French vernacular. Often understood as undoing the historical pessimism of the *Antiquitez*, Spenser's "Envoy" to the *Ruines of Rome* sounds a hopeful note about the future of vernacular poetry. A standard vehicle within the Spenserian text for reflecting on the poetic *monumentum*, however, Spenser's envoys also function as postscripts declaring the poem's apparent readiness for transmission and draw attention to the interplay between lapidary fixity and textual mobility and the paradox of sending out a seemingly fixed monument to a receiving public.[7] In considering the envoys to the *Ruines of Rome* and the narrative poem *The Ruines of Time*, I argue that Spenser's concerns about the poetic monument's durability lead him to turn to a notion of a writing that records in the stars the essence of those individuals whom his poems commemorate as a means of imagining a more secure future for them than Horatian thematics permit.

I: *Petrarchan Poetics, the Horatian Monumentum, and English Verse*

In response to his sense that little poetry of worth had been written in French, and certainly none to rival the ancients, Du Bellay lays out a theory of literary imitation in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse* (1549). His plea urging French poets to imitate the classical texts of the ancients by adapting them to the vernacular amounts to a full-scale program itself in imitation of the Roman approach to intertextuality and its

[7] Spenser's 1595 *Epithalamium* will conclude with a notoriously difficult passage about the monument of verse.

larger goal of transferring Greek culture (*translatio studii*) and empire (*translatio imperii*) to Rome. In particular, he implores French poets to turn from native forms such as the ballad and roundel to those of the ancients, and his manifesto includes chapters on the genres in which the French should write, including epigrams, elegies, odes, epistles, satires, and epics. Yet he also bestows favor on an Italian form, the sonnet, which he likens to the ode: "Ring out for me those beautiful sonnets, a no less learned than pleasant Italian invention which agrees in name with the ode and differs from it only in that the sonnet has a certain number of lines of a fixed length."[8] The sonnet is the only Renaissance form that Du Bellay mentions as at all worthy of imitation, and he singles out Petrarch's sonnets in particular as models for the other poets of the Pléiade to follow.

The example of Petrarch—and later of Pierre de Ronsard and Sir Philip Sidney—indicates that writing sonnets is crucial to legitimizing vernacular poetry and creating a national literature.[9] At the same time, the poet's confidence (or lack thereof) in the future of vernacular letters depends in large part on the formal and thematic resources of the genre that the poet adopts to communicate it. In this sense, Petrarchism's investment in failed hopes, frustrated desire, and the unattainability of the absent beloved suggests that the sonnet sequence provides the perfect vehicle for expressing unease about the immense historical and interpretive distance separating the ancient past from the

[8] *Joachim du Bellay: "The Regrets," with the "Antiquities of Rome," Three Latin Elegies, and "The Defense and Enrichment of the French Language,"* ed. and trans. Richard Helgerson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 374, 376. Further citations of the *Deffence* appear in the text and refer to page number.

[9] On the many ways in which Petrarchism "stimulated the development of literary vernaculars in Europe" (6), see William J. Kennedy, *The Site of Petrarchism: Early Modern National Sentiment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2003).

Renaissance present, as well as Renaissance poetic monuments from their imagined future readers. As Vickers has shown, Petrarchan desire has a strong temporal dimension to it—a past scattering and the always deferred hope of a future gathering—as the poet-lover attempts to recuperate more than just a fragmented image of his absent beloved and a fleeting sense of the past. Ultimately, she reads Petrarch's scattering of his beloved's praiseworthy features as a defense tactic, one that works against the "threat of [his own] imminent dismemberment" implicit in his reworking of Ovid's Actaeon-Diana myth towards the end of *Rime* 23.[10] Yet Petrarch's attitude towards Laura is also one of profound reverence, as his *rime sparse* attempt—and repeatedly fail—"to iterate a precious, fleeting image, to transmute it into an idol that can be forever possessed, that will be forever present."[11] In his return to the river Sorgue, where he had once seen Laura, Petrarch remembers with sighs (*con sospir mi rimembra*) her lovely body, the members of which (*le belle membra*) reappear to his imagination as scattered throughout the landscape and his verse.[12] Hoping to participate again in the truth of an initial, originary *innamoramento* only to find himself divided from the image of his beloved (*sì diviso* / *da l'imagine vera* [*RS* 126.59-60]), Petrarch concludes *Rime* 126 by emphasizing his separation from—rather than continuity with—that past moment and his inability to form a coherent, totalizing image of Laura.

[10] Vickers, "Diana Described," 273. Although Petrarch refers to this particular myth in just two poems, Vickers nonetheless understands this self-defensive "textual strategy" to subtend the entire sequence (277).
[11] Ibid., 275.
[12] *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* Rime sparse *and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976), 126.5, 2. Further citations of the *Rime* appear in the text and refer to poem and line number.

What I wish to show in what follows is that the trope of scattering and gathering, which forms the basis of Petrarchan desire, maps especially well onto Renaissance descriptions of ancient Rome. In particular, the guidebooks to the ancient city, to which *Les Antiquitez de Rome* and the *Ruines of Rome* are directly related and from which they draw their titles, set out to aid tourists who visit it by providing them with a detailed and systematic map of Rome's densely layered topography.[13] As Alina A. Payne has noted, these guidebooks were part of the "increasingly ambitious archeological projects" of the period, and over the course of the Renaissance, they shift away from the encomium tradition, "that is, from what are essentially works of pure imagination, wistfulness, pride, and desire."[14] Yet the encomiastic tradition persisted. Indeed, wonder, imagination, and desire lie at the heart of William Thomas's account of ancient Rome in *The History of Italy* (1549).[15] Although Thomas's book later focuses on describing contemporary Italian culture and the modern Italian city-state for his English readers, it also is part of the sixteenth-century proliferation of literature about ancient Rome, the ruins of which he saw firsthand during his 1545-1548 Italian journey:

[13] For just a few examples of sixteenth-century *antichità* literature, see Pomponio Leto's *Antichità di Roma* (1510), Andrea Fulvio's *Antiquitates urbis* (1527), Book 3 (titled *Le antichità di Roma*) of Sebastiano Serlio's architectural treatise (1540), Pirro Ligorio's *Antichità di Roma* (1553), Andrea Palladio's *L'antichità di Roma* (1554), and (in France) Etienne du Pérac's *I Vestigi dell'antiquità di Roma* (1575).

[14] Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 22. Payne has in mind Fra Francesco Colonna's archeological romance, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), the first two-fifths of which were translated into English in 1592 as *The Strife of Loue in a Dreame*, as well as the medieval *mirabilia urbis* literature, especially the twelfth-century *Mirabilia urbis romae* (or *Marvels of Rome*).

[15] On wonder in the English response to classical architecture, see Christy Anderson, "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance," in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. Lucy Gent (New Haven: Yale UP, 1995), 239-86 (Anderson discusses Thomas at 263-64).

> Thinking to find a great contentation in the sight of Rome, because that amongst all the cities of the world none hath been more famous than it, I disposed myself to go thither. But when I came there and beheld the wonderful majesty of buildings that the only roots thereof do yet represent, the huge temples, the infinite great palaces, the unmeasurable pillars—most part of one piece, fine marble, and well wrought—the goodly arches of triumph, the bains [i.e., baths], the conduits of water, the images as well of brass as of marble, the obelisks, and a number of other like things, not to be found again throughout an whole world, imagining withal what majesty the city might be of when all these things flourished, then did it grieve me to see the only jewel, mirror, mistress, and beauty of this world, that never had her like nor (as I think) never shall, lie so desolate and disfigured that there is no lamentable case to be heard or loathsome thing to be seen that may be compared to a small part of it.[16]

As Thomas begins to reconstruct the city in his imagination, his response to the ruins soon turns to what had become a fairly common idiom for describing Rome's ruins, that of the Petrarchan lover bemoaning the loss of his absent beloved, whose faded beauty becomes a figure for a lost antiquity.[17] To compensate in some measure, Thomas, too,

[16] William Thomas, *The History of Italy*, ed. George B. Parks (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1963), 20-21.

[17] Raphael and Castiglione, in their famous letter to Pope Leo X, think of Rome along similar lines: "Since I have been so completely taken up by these antiquities . . . I think that I have managed to acquire a certain understanding of the ancient way of architecture. This is something that gives me, simultaneously, enormous pleasure—from the intellectual appreciation of such an excellent matter—and extreme pain—at the sight of what you could almost call the corpse of the great, noble city, once queen of the world, so

engages in an act of projection and remembrance as he attempts to superimpose his image of the city's "wonderful majesty of buildings" as they once existed on "the only roots thereof" that still remain. The sonnet sequences of Du Bellay and Spenser will make explicit the Petrarchan idiom at work in Thomas's account of Rome, as they reconceive the erotic space that holds apart the poet-lover from his "imperial mistress" in terms of a vast historical distance.[18] Like them, Thomas describes and laments Rome's ruin, beholding the beauty of its individual monuments now scattered about the architectural landscape while imagining the whole, the recuperation of which he longs to see.

In turning to Du Bellay and Spenser, we will see that the dialectic Petrarch sets up between the scattered and the gathered applies not just to Rome's architecture but also to the way in which they understand the enduring quality of poetic monuments. Indeed, the hope for a restoration or renewal of ancient Rome and the anguish over its loss permeate both sides of the Renaissance poetry-architecture analogy, often in the very same text. Like many of the humanist poets who preceded him, Du Bellay was prone to vacillate about what Rome's surviving architecture meant for thinking about both the written monuments of the ancients and future French ones, and nowhere are his vacillations more apparent than in the *Deffence*. Here, Du Bellay has recourse to a variety of metaphors to describe the efficacy of literary imitation, with architectural metaphors among the most

---

cruelly butchered" ("The Letter to Pope Leo X," in *Palladio's Rome: A Translation of Andrea Palladio's Two Guidebooks to Rome*, trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks [New Haven: Yale UP, 2006], 179).

[18] In "Du Bellay's Imperial Mistress: *Les Antiquitez de Rome* as Petrarchist Sonnet Sequence," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 609-22, Wayne A. Rebhorn argues that as a sonnet sequence, the *Antiquitez* "necessarily implies a particular relationship between the poet and his subject matter—a love relationship," one that presupposes the poet's "absolute separation" from his beloved (612). See also Deborah Lesko Baker, "Petrarchan Lyric Subjectivity in Joachim du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome*," *Annali d'italianistica* 22 (2004): 207-19.

prominent.[19] French authors, he insists, should do with ancient Roman texts what the Romans once did with Greek ones, when they "constructed [*ont baty*] all those fine writings we so ardently praise and admire" (336). Just as Virgil and Cicero "raised" the Latin language to such an "excellence and height" by imitating the Greeks (338), so too will French poets and orators raise the French language—and France along with it—so as one day to match the literary achievements, the imperial glory, and the architectural monumentality of ancient Rome.

Du Bellay would return to the architectural metaphor, treating it in its most expansive terms in a passage towards the end of Book 1 of the *Deffence*. This time, however, he suffuses it not with optimism for France's literary future but rather with pathos and a polemical intensity that arises from the text's anxiety about a French imitation of Latin texts.[20] I consider it in some detail here, in part because of the shift it marks in Du Bellay's thinking about architecture as a stable metaphor for writings, and in part because of the extraordinary suggestiveness of its language of scattering and gathering for the two sonnet sequences about the material ruins of Rome and vernacular writings:

---

[19] In addition to the architectural metaphor, Du Bellay makes use of the militaristic metaphor of conquering and pillaging ancient texts; the corporeal or digestive metaphor of devouring and then converting ancient texts into "blood and nourishment"; and the botanic or naturalistic metaphor of grafting, "like shoots," the best the ancients have to offer onto the Renaissance text (336). For a fairly exhaustive catalogue of Renaissance metaphors for imitation (including their classical sources), see G. W. Pigman III, "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1-32. For Du Bellay's comments on both previous French poets and his contemporaries, see Bk. 2, chap. 2 of the *Deffence*.

[20] Critical accounts of the *Deffence* have often noted the historical pessimism in Du Bellay's hopes for a French *translatio* of ancient culture and empire. See in particular Margaret Ferguson, "The Exile's Defense: Du Bellay's *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*," *PMLA* 93 (1978): 275-89, who shows how Du Bellay's attitude toward the ancients shifts back and forth between reverence and iconoclasm, the result of "an unstable relation [between texts] in which the balance of power is always shifting" (286). Ferguson discusses architectural metaphors in the *Deffence* at 285-86.

Do they then expect not, I say, to equal, but even to come close to [Virgil and Cicero] in their own languages? They gather [*recuillant*] from this orator and from that poet now a noun, now a verb, now a line of verse, and now a phrase, as though, in the way one reconstructs an old building [*comme si en la façon qu'on rebatist un vieil edifice*], they hoped with those gathered stones to restore to the ruined edifice of these languages their original grandeur and excellence [*ilz s'attendoint rendre par ces pierres ramassées à la ruynée fabrique de ces langues sa premiere grandeur et excellence*]. But you will never be such good masons (you who so zealously admire the Greek and Latin languages) that you will be able to restore them to the form those good and excellent architects first gave them [*que leur puissiez rendre celle forme que leur donnarent premierement ces bons et excellens architectes*]. And if you hope that with those gathered fragments they can be brought back to life [*et si vous esperez . . . que par ces fragmentz recuilliz elles puyssent estre resuscitées*] (as Aesculapius did with the limbs of Hippolytus), you are fooling yourselves, not realizing that at the fall of such proud structures, together with the predestined ruin of those two powerful empires, one part was reduced to dust [*devint poudre*] and the rest must be in many pieces which it would be impossible to reassemble [*reduire en un*]. Besides, many other parts have remained in the foundations of old walls or, scattered in the long course of the ages [*egarées par le long cours de*

> *siecles*], can no longer be found. As a result, in undertaking to rebuild [*redifier*] that edifice you will be far from restoring [*restituer*] its original grandeur, when in the place where the great hall once stood you may perhaps put the bedrooms, the stables, or the kitchen, confusing doors and windows, changing, in short, the whole form of the building. (356)

Du Bellay here excoriates French neo-Latin imitators who try to equal the ancients in their own languages (he has just called them "these whitewashers [*reblanchisseurs de murailles*], who rack their brains day and night to imitate—do I say imitate?—nay, to transcribe a Virgil and a Cicero" [356]). To be sure, the texts of the Romans are emphatically *not* in the same state as Rome's ancient buildings, a point that Du Bellay concedes early in the *Deffence* when he argues that most of the deeds of the Roman people "had been conserved intact in our times" in the ancients' writings (326). In a defensive gesture similar to the one Vickers understands Petrarch to make in the *Rime*, however, Du Bellay's recourse to architectural metaphors to describe ancient texts as immobile, lifeless, and ruined allows him to side-step the threat posed to French writers by the cultural status and authority of Latin writings.[21]

Yet by side-stepping one challenge, Du Bellay creates another, even more foreboding one. For the passage suggests that the writings of the ancients themselves now exist as nothing more than grammatical fragments ("now a noun, now a verb, now a line

[21] For a different account of the architectural metaphor in Du Bellay's *Deffence*, see Doranne Fenoaltea, "'La ruynée fabrique de ces langues . . .': la métaphore architecturale dans *La Défense et Illustration*," in *Du Bellay: Actes du Colloque International d'Angers du 26 au 29 mai, 1989*, ed. Georges Cesdron, 2 vols. (Angers: Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1990), 1.665-75. I am paraphrasing a point that Fenoaltea makes at 1.672.

of verse, and now a phrase"), while the neo-Latin imitators' attempts at restoring them parallels the ill-fated recovery and restoration of a classical, material antiquity from its scattered debris. Du Bellay is furthermore unambiguous about which ruined city he has in mind: "They build [*batissant*] their poems from half-lines of [Virgil] and swear fealty in their prose writings to the words and phrases of [Cicero], dreaming . . . of all ancient Rome" (356). It is as if the writings of Virgil and Cicero are a metonym for Rome, the quintessential symbol of loss whose history was above all "a history of the idea of a city that used to be."[22] Whereas the neo-Latin imitators dream of restoration and renewal on the models of Virgil and Cicero, for Du Bellay, the ruin is so total that it would seem pointless to worry about whether French poets and orators should imitate the ancients in their own languages or in the French vernacular. Rather, as Du Bellay would have us believe, the "proud structures" of the ancients—both textual and architectural—have been obliterated beyond the point of recognition ("one part was reduced to dust and the rest must be in many pieces which it would be impossible to reassemble"). In short, they provide no basis for the building up of the French (or any other) vernacular on their model.

For both the neo-Latin imitators as for Du Bellay, then, the fates of writings and of buildings are inseparable from each other. On the one hand, the architectural metaphor plays into the optimistic fantasy, maintained by Du Bellay earlier in the *Deffence* and by the neo-Latin imitators whom he here spites, that putting back together the grammatical

[22] Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1999), 20.

and poetic fragments of Latin texts will somehow add up to the restoration of all of Rome and a full *translatio* of ancient culture and empire to Renaissance France. On the other hand, the metaphor reveals his profound sense of historical pessimism about the imitative project to renew—whether in neo-Latin or in French—the poetic language of the ancients. Lacking the overall *idée* of the whole and the imitative inventiveness and originality of "those good and excellent architects" Virgil and Cicero, the imitators (who after all are only masons, not architects) are left to pick up the pieces of what has been "scattered in the long course of the ages."[23] In the process, they mistake doors for windows and confuse the great hall with the stables, haphazardly rearranging the fragments of antiquity so as to leave them hopelessly out of place with respect to the "whole form of the building" that the imitator imagines himself to be following. Du Bellay's tone is certainly that of invective against the would-be imitators of Virgil and Cicero, but it barely conceals his larger elegiac plaint about the non-transferability of ancient culture to the Renaissance present that would later be at the core of the *Antiquitez* and *Ruines*.

We cannot know for certain whether or not Spenser read Du Bellay's *Deffence*, though given the extent of his engagement with the Frenchman's poetry, it seems highly probable that he would have been familiar with its theories. Spenser was likely to have

[23] On the difference between the architect and the mason and other "workmen," Leon Battista Alberti writes: "[T]o make something that appears to be convenient for use, and that can without doubt be afforded and built as projected, is the job not of the architect so much as the workman. But to preconceive and to determine in the mind and with judgment something that will be perfect and complete in its every part is the achievement of such a mind as we seek" (*Leon Battista Alberti: On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor [Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992 (1988)], 315).

heard something of Du Bellay's theories about language and vernacularity, translation and imitation, from his teacher at Merchant Taylors' school in London, Richard Mulcaster, who relied heavily on the *Deffence* while writing sections of his own *Elementarie*, an educational treatise "published in 1582 but probably expressing convictions the author had long taught."[24] The extent of Spenser's engagement with Du Bellay, however, was far greater than Mulcaster's, or indeed than any other Englishman's in the period.[25] Early on, the young Spenser worked with Du Bellay's sonnet sequence *Songe*, a series of fifteen dream-visions that Du Bellay published with *Les Antiquitez de Rome* on the same subject of Rome's grandeur and destruction. *Songe* provides an overtly religious, apocalyptic counterpoint to the more historical focus of the *Antiquitez*, and Spenser translated eleven of its sonnets for the Protestant zealot Jan van der Noot's openly anti-papal *A Theatre of Worldlings* (1569).[26] He would return to Du Bellay's poetry sometime over the course of the 1570s and/or the 1580s, newly translating the *Antiquitez* as the *Ruines of Rome* and retranslating *Songe* as *The Visions of Bellay*, which he would slot between two other visions sequences (*Visions of the Worlds Vanitie* and *The Visions of Petrarch*) at the end of his *Complaints* volume.[27]

[24] Prescott, *French Poets*, 65.
[25] See Prescott, *French Poets*, 43-52.
[26] The sequence for *A Theatre of Worldlings* also includes Spenser's sonnet translations of four paraphrases (written by van der Noot himself) from the book of Revelation. Spenser also translates the visionary canzone 323 from Petrarch's *Rime sparse*, though he likely followed Clément Marot's French translation of the poem, *Des Visions de Pétrarque*.
[27] *The Visions of Petrarch* retranslates Petrarch's canzone 323 while *The Visions of Bellay* retranslates the eleven sonnets he had previously worked on for van der Noot and restores, as Margaret Ferguson notes, both the "formal integrity" of the sequence and "some of its theological ambiguity" by including the four sonnets that had previously been left out (6, 8, 13, and 14) and omitting van der Noot's book of Revelation paraphrases ("Joachim du Bellay," in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A. C. Hamilton [Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990], 84).

In addition to their joint tendency to meditate on human pride or their shared fascination with mutability and the rise and fall of empires, Du Bellay and Spenser explore how a Petrarchan poetics maps onto the material remains of ancient Rome. By counterpoising the past architectural grandeur of Rome against the dust, ash, and cinder of the ancient city's devastated reality, they expand the referential range of the Petrarchan trope of scattering and gathering, transforming the poet-lover's desire to recollect the fragmented image of the beloved into a longing to restore a city presently in ruins. As Joseph Loewenstein has argued, their speaker, our guide to Rome, often describes what he would have us see with a visionary detachment that eschews the subject position of the "intensely private, intensely psychological" lyric "I" that is so typical of the Petrarchan speaker.[28] In this sense, we can—and perhaps should—understand these sequences as breaking from Petrarchan tradition. Yet Du Bellay and Spenser lend an added poignancy to their meditations on ancient Rome and their own textual futures by reserving lyric intrusions into the sequence for those moments when they wish to tinge the stone-text nexus with an erotic ardor that turns both city and poem into objects of unrequited desire. The detached tone of these sequences thus becomes deeply personal in those moments when they feel most compelled to reformulate Horace's boast and its bearing on the prospects for a vernacular literary immortality.

The comparisons between architectural and written *monumenta* tend to cluster towards the beginning and the end of *Ruines*. The sequence opens, however, not by

[28] Joseph Loewenstein, "Spenser's Retrography: Two Episodes in Post-Petrarchan Bibliography," in *Spenser's Life*, 119.

collapsing the differences between poetry and architecture but rather by insisting that the ancients' writings have escaped the devastation:

> Ye heavenly spirites, whose ashie cinders lie
> Under deep ruines, with huge walls opprest,
> But not your praise, the which shall never die
> Through your faire verses, ne in ashes rest[.][29]

> Divins Esprits, dont la poudreuse cendre
> Gist sous le faix de tant de murs couvers,
> Non vostre loz, qui vif par voz beaux vers
> Ne se verra sous la terre descendre[.][30]

The Renaissance poet who wishes to summon Rome's spirits from out of the depths may seek a more direct contact with the ancients than poetry alone can provide; nonetheless, the poem also confirms the Horatian boast that verse lasts longer than stone. Yet if in sonnet 1 Spenser insists on the durability of Rome's literary monuments, then in sonnet 3 stone monuments reassert themselves with a remarkable resilience. Although the poem claims that time will "devowre . . . all things" (*RR* 36; *au temps, qui tout consomme* [*Ant.* 3.8]), it becomes clear by the time we reach its sestet that what constitutes the real threat to an English *translatio* of ancient culture is Rome's inimitability: "*Rome* now of *Rome* is

[29] *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram et al. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989) (hereafter *YESP*), *RR* 1-4. Unless otherwise noted, further citations of Spenser's poetry are from the *YESP*, appear in the text, and refer to poem and line number.

[30] *Joachim du Bellay*, *Ant.* 1.1-4. Further citations of the *Antiquitez* refer to poem and line number. In general, I provide Du Bellay's French lines after first citing Spenser's corresponding English lines.

th'onely funerall" (*RR* 37; *Rome de Rome est le seul monument* [*Ant*. 3.9]). By translating Du Bellay's *monument* as "funerall," Spenser stresses the sepulchral meaning of the term: the site of Rome functions as its own tomb; Rome alone can perform the observances required after its death; only Rome can give voice to its past, retaining an entirely autonomous power to memorialize itself.[31] Spenser repeats the tautological formulation most forcefully just three poems later:

> *Rome* onely might to *Rome* compared bee,
> And onely *Rome* could make great *Rome* tremble[.] (*RR* 79-80)

> Rome seule pouvoit à Rome ressembler,
> Rome seule pouvoit Rome faire trembler[.] (*Ant*. 6.9-10)

These sonnets' lines present a disquieting logic of exclusion to the newcomer to Rome who finds nothing of the ancient city's former signifying power: "And nought of *Rome* in *Rome* perceiv'st at all" (*RR* 30; *Et rien de Rome en Rome n'apperçois* [*Ant*. 3.2]). Neither France nor England has anything to contribute to Rome's further memorialization than what the monuments of Rome already provide, so that both are left on the outside perpetually looking in.

[31] The term "funeral" means "the ceremonies connected with the burial . . . of the body of a dead person; obsequies; a burial . . . with the attendant observances," as well as "death; grave; monument"; see "funeral, n.," entries 1 and 5 in the *OED*.

Like sonnet 1, sonnet 5 presents on its surface a confident version of the lasting power of verse.[32] Rome's "brave writings" have escaped the ruin intact, and they provide a better medium than Rome's architecture for the reemergence of Rome's specter:

> But her brave writings, which her famouse merite
> In spight of time, out of the dust doth reare,
> Doo make her Idole through the world appeare. (*RR* 68-70)

> Mais ses escripts, qui son loz le plus beau
> Malgré le temps arrachent du tumbeau,
> Font son idole errer parmy le monde. (*Ant.* 5.12-14)

The sonnet's final tercet offers a bleaker picture of the role poetry plays in Rome's survival than at first seems. Du Bellay's verb *arracher* (from the Latin *eradicare* or *exradicare*) connotes senses that stretch from a relatively peaceable "lifting" or "wresting" from the ground to its more violent sense of "tearing away" or "uprooting." Taken in the latter sense, the verb presents an image of the ghost of Rome being torn from its tomb and made to stray in exile in the form of its verse, which effects only a simulacrum—an "Idole"—of Rome and is itself temporally estranged from the grandeur and beauty of the Roman past it extols.[33] Although Spenser's "doth reare" leans towards

[32] Sonnet 5 has received far more attention in the criticism on the *Antiquitez*; see in particular Rebhorn, "Du Bellay's Imperial Mistress," 613; and Lesko Baker, "Petrarchan Lyric Subjectivity," 213-17, both of whom stress its intertextual engagement with Petrarch's *Rime* 248 (*Chi vuol veder*).

[33] It is more or less in this sense that Spenser's editors gloss the word, as meaning a "likeness" or an "image" (from the Greek *eidolon*); see the *YESP*, 388; and *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition: The Minor Poems*, ed. Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Henry Gibbons Lotspeich, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1947), 2.382. Although the religious differences between the French

the former, gentler sense of the verb, both poems suggest that the "brave writings" of antiquity convey only the shadow of their former significance to those wishing to understand, interpret, and finally convert them into what Pascale Casanova has called "national literary 'assets'" for establishing an empire of French or English letters.[34]

If the process of qualifying the sequence's initial pronouncement about the lasting power of verse over stone begins in these opening sonnets, then its culmination at the end of the sequence begins with sonnet 25:

O that I had the *Thracian* Poets harpe,
For to awake out of th'infernall shade
Those antique *Cæsers*, sleeping long in darke,
The which this auncient Citie whilome made:
Or that I had *Amphions* instrument,
To quicken with his vitall notes accord,
The stonie joynts of these old walls now rent,
By which th'*Ausonian* light might be restor'd:
Or that at least I could with pencill fine,
Fashion the pourtraicts of these Palacis,

Catholic Du Bellay and the Protestant Spenser are often difficult to map onto a sequence that comes across as predominantly historical and secular, there can be little doubt that the change in religious context adds a further wrinkle to Spenser's reception and reinterpretation of Rome's literary monuments. As Margaret Ferguson has argued, Spenser, in translating Du Bellay into English, "dramatized a danger for the English imitator—the danger that in the very act of translating Du Bellay's poems, Spenser was engaging in a form of idolatry" ("The Afflatus of Ruin," 30). Critical accounts of *Ruines* often focus on how the Protestant Spenser rewrites the Catholic Du Bellay's ambivalence about Rome for a Protestant English audience; see in particular Andrew Fichter, "'And nought of *Rome* in *Rome* perceiu'st at all': Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*," *Spenser Studies* 2 (1981): 183-92.

[34] Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004), 54, who here has in mind Du Bellay's *Deffence*.

By paterne of great *Virgils* spirit divine;
I would assay with that which in me is,
To builde with levell of my loftie style,
That which no hands can evermore compyle. (*RR* 337-50)

Que n'ay-je encore la harpe Thracienne,
Pour réveiller de l'enfer paresseux
Ces vieux Cesars, et les Umbres de ceux
Qui ont basty ceste ville ancienne?
Ou que je n'ay celle Amphionienne,
Pour animer d'un accord plus heureux
De ces vieux murs les ossemens pierreux,
Et restaurer la gloire Ausonienne?
Peusse-je aumoins d'un pinceau plus agile
Sur le patron de quelque grand Virgile
De ces palais les protraits façonner:
J'entreprendrois, veu l'ardeur qui m'allume,
De rebastir au compas de la plume
Ce que les mains ne peuvent maçonner. (*Ant.* 25)

Paralleling the Orphic lover who yearns to bring his absent beloved back from the underworld with the Renaissance poet who calls to the Roman dead, the poem marks Spenser's strongest use of the lyric "I" since sonnet 7, whose final tercet emphasizes the

poet's "sad desires" (*RR* 96; *Tristes desirs* [*Ant*. 7.12]) and his sense of his own mortality when confronted with Rome's ruins. In writing about *Antiquitez* 25, Thomas M. Greene underscores how the sonnet's octave presents the mythological pair of Orpheus and Amphion in a succession suggesting "two necessary phases" in what constitutes the double gesture of the humanist response to Rome's ruins: "the Orphic-necromantic" and "the Amphionic-architectonic." This double gesture focuses primarily on the possibility of giving positive form to the disinterred fragments that had reemerged from underground, "of designing shaping, and structuring a harmonious edifice" and once again lending vitality to the ancient city.[35] That Orpheus tragically loses Eurydice to the underworld for a second time already suggests that Spenser's attempts "to awake out of th'infernall shade / Those antique *Cæsers*" and return them to life must falter, so that the Amphionic move that would restore Rome's architecture to its former grandeur stalls out before the poet can ever perform it. By framing the recuperative project in the conditional throughout, sonnet 25 suggests that humanist confidence in carrying it out has waned by the time Du Bellay and Spenser come to pen their sequences.

A recognition of the limits of verse, the sonnet is keenly aware of the difference between the mythic moving of stones to create civilization and the moving of Rome's ruins to recreate it in actuality. Insofar as the re-creation requires the poet, the difference plays out in the move from the sonnet's octave to its sestet. Beginning with the poet's desire to revitalize the Roman dead and "quicken" Rome's "stonie joints," Spenser comes to acknowledge that the best he can hope to do is fashion a portrait of the city's palaces in

[35] Greene, *The Light in Troy*, 231, 233, 231.

verse. Because the (re)vitalizing powers of the mythic pair of Orpheus and Amphion are unavailable to the Renaissance poet, he must instead content himself with substituting representations of the Roman dead and the city's ancient architecture for their actual quickening, and he must look to a historical (rather than a mythic) poet, Virgil, to guide him in his task. In contrast to the retellings of the Amphion myth in the rhetoric and poetics manuals, then, the poem offers a profound reversal of their sense of the power of poetry to move stones and people and gather that which had previously been scattered. The Renaissance poet is finally unable to do with the Roman ruins what Giovanni Boccaccio had said the mythical poet-architect accomplished in constructing the Theban walls: "[Amphion's] moving stones with his cithara to construct the walls of Thebes was none other than that by sweet speech he persuaded ignorant and savage men, living scattered about, to come together in one place, to live in civilized fashion [*et sparsim degentibus, ut in unum convenirent, et civiliter viverent*]."[36] Whereas the myth shows how poetry and architecture work together in the quest to establish civilization, Spenser conflates poetry first with painting and finally with architecture ("restor'd," "builde," "compyle"; *restaurer*, *rebastir*, *maçonner*) in order to intimate for the first time that writings, even in an age of print, may be no better off than those marble structures that the sequence has already shown to be highly vulnerable to the ravages of time, internecine strife, foreign invasion, and divine vengeance.[37]

[36] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*, ed. Vincenzo Romano, 2 vols. (Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1951), 1.274. The translation is by Manley, "Spenser and the City," 204.

[37] Spenser's "compyle" is especially pertinent here, as it combines meanings that overlap architecture and poetry: "To collect and put together (materials), so as to form a treatise; to collect into a volume"; "To make, compose, or construct (a written or printed work) by arrangement of materials collected from

For Du Bellay, moreover, there are no epic poets of Virgil's stature to guide his brush and make it more responsive to the task of rebuilding. Even the *quelque* modifying the great Latin poet's name qualifies something of the distinct presence Virgil would seem to have in the poem. By contrast, Spenser's version of the sestet comes off as somewhat tongue-in-cheek. After all, the *Complaints* volume was published in 1591, well after E. K.'s unabashed claim in the opening epistle to the *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) that "our new Poete" is following a Virgilian career path, and just after Spenser's own pronouncement in the first installment of *The Faerie Queene* (1590) that he has turned from "Oaten reeds" to "trumpets sterne."[38] What these statements suggest, in other words, is that Spenser is proceeding precisely "By paterne of great *Virgils* spirit divine." Coldiron in particular has read the end of Spenser's *Ruines* as an optimistic gesture towards a full-fledged English *translatio* of classical antiquity: "Over the course of the *Ruines of Rome*," she writes, "Spenser reverses that erosion of belief in the powers of the poet, or at least mitigates its progress, with a few slight changes in translation and one big addition at the end."[39] In addition to emphasizing Spenser's original "Envoy," Coldiron places a great deal of pressure on his translation of a single though important line in sonnet 26. There, he alters Du Bellay's *Rome fut tout le monde, et tout le monde est Rome* (*Ant.* 26.9), converting the present-tense verb in the second half of the line to match the past-tense verb in the first half: "*Rome* was th'whole world, and al the world was *Rome*" (*RR* 359). For Spenser, Coldiron argues, the change in verb tense "leaves room to hope

---

various sources"; "To heap together, pile up; to gather or form into a heap or mass"; "To construct by putting together materials; to make up, build" ("compile, v.," entries 1.1-2 and 2.5-6, in the *OED*).

[38] *YESP*, 13; *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), Bk. 1, proem, stanza 1.

[39] Coldiron, "How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*," 50.

for England's empire and poetic immortality": "Rome's fate mapped, but does not now map, that of the 'whole world.'"[40] Yet what Spenser chooses *not* to alter in the final poems of his translation is no less important than what he does. In sonnet 26, for example, Spenser reverts back to present-tense verbs just two lines later: "When land and sea ye name, then name ye *Rome*" (*RR* 361; *La nommant par le nom de la terre et de l'onde* [*Ant.* 26.12]). Just three poems after this, in sonnet 29, he follows precisely the shift in tenses of his French model: "*Rome* living, was the worlds sole ornament, / And dead, is now the worlds sole moniment" (*RR* 405-06; *Rome vivant fut l'ornement du monde, / Et morte elle est du monde le tumbeau* [*Ant.* 29.13-14]). "All," the poem repeats at the beginnings of six of its lines, that the world has ever brought forth of worth has been buried with Rome and remains there still.

While I agree that Spenser's rewritings of his source material are significant for our understanding of *Ruines*, it is far from clear that what his translation finally offers is a revision that "effac[es] the doubts about the poet's role in history" as Du Bellay expresses them.[41] Rather than comparing *Ruines* to Du Bellay's original alone, we would do better *also* to see Spenser's translation and its uncertain outlook on the future of the English poetic *monumentum* in light of those theorists of language and poetry whose hopeful statements about the cultural status of English vernacular poetry we considered in chapter one. By contrast, Spenser's translation tends to reproduce Du Bellay's doubts about the poet's role in history at a cultural moment when there was still a great deal of anxiety

[40] Ibid., 51. Brown takes a similar stance with regard to Spenser's optimism, though unlike Coldiron, he tends to see Du Bellay's *Antiquitez* as conveying a relatively optimistic message as well; see *The New Poet*, 86-89.
[41] Ibid., 53.

over the seeming rudeness, indecorum, and barbarousness of the English vernacular, as well as a continued uncertainty about the possibility of finding room for England within the hierarchy of classical and European letters and empire. As Richard Helgerson has put it, hope and the promise of success were often countered by a strong sense of "the historical abyss into which all ambition threatens to fall."[42] Spenser gives fullest voice to what that abyss might look like in the second poem of the *Complaints* volume, *The Teares of the Muses*, which records the classical muses' lament for the "ugly Barbarisme, / And brutish Ignorance" that "in the minds of men now tyrannize" (*TM* 187-88, 199). And in the 1579 letter to Spenser with which this chapter began, Harvey conveys his sense of the precarious position of English within the pecking order of languages when he contrasts England, "wherein nothinge is reputed so contemptible, and so baselye and vilelye accountid of as whatsoever is taken for Inglishe," with Italy, France, and Spain, nations which have "sett oute [to] advaunce ther own languages above the very Greake and Lattin, if it were possible" (65-66). To be sure, there are moments when Spenser's *Ruines* would seem to mitigate the historical pessimism of the *Antiquitez*. Yet if we wish to understand the changes that Spenser makes in *Ruines* 26 as creating a space to hope for English poetry in relegating Rome to the distant past, then we must also recognize how quickly *Ruines* 29 oscillates in the other direction in underscoring England's cultural belatedness.

[42] Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), 26.

The language for describing that belatedness is at its most poignant in sonnet 30, where Spenser depicts the process of gathering the "olde markes" of the former Roman Empire after it has been sacked and sifted through by the northern invaders:

> So grew the Romane Empire by degree,
> Till that Barbarian hands it quite did spill,
> And left of it but these olde markes to see,
> Of which all passers by doo somewhat pill:
> As they which gleane, the reliques use to gather,
> Which th'husbandman behind him chanst to scater. (*RR* 415-20)

> Ainsi de peu à peu creut l'Empire Romain,
> Tant qu'il fut despouillé par la Barbare main,
> Qui ne laissa de luy que ces marques antiques,
> Que chacun va pillant: comme un void le gleneur
> Cheminant pas à pas recueillir les reliques
> De ce qui va tumbant apres le moissonneur. (*Ant.* 30.9-14)

Whereas something of Christ's parable of the Kingdom of God may sit behind the final lines of *Ruines* 30, the poem is first and foremost a meditation on mutability and temporal dislocation as it plays out an elegiac version of the humanist response to the ruins of ancient Rome.[43] The Renaissance poet proceeds on the examples of his Roman models,

[43] On the poem's biblical intertext (Mark 4.26-29), see the commentary in *The Minor Poems*, 2.390; and Fichter, "Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*," 189-91.

yet Spenser does not allow him any sense of choice in determining what he can take from the ruins. Rather, the poet-as-passerby, who comes to Rome long after the fact of its demise, is instead left to "pill" ("to remove" or "strip away") the little that remains of Rome long after it has been spoiled by "Barbarian hands." The figure for the poet shifts in the couplet, as Spenser compares the Sack of Rome to the agricultural scene of the harvester and the gleaner, which in turn evokes the methodical, ceaseless movement of time as it cycles through the seasons. As Greene notes, the poet-as-gleaner would seem to sit outside of this cycle of death and regeneration, an "extraneous figure, irrelevant to the rhythm," and finally unable to participate in the process of "true creation."[44] Although this overstates the case, Du Bellay's choice of the verb *recueillir* ("to gather" or "collect") nonetheless shifts us away from the ambitious, even heroic claim of the prefatory sonnet to the *Antiquitez* (untranslated by Spenser), where he offered to use his verse to rebuild in France the monumental grandeur of the Roman world (*De rebastir en France une telle grandeur* / *Que je la voudrois bien peindre en vostre langage* ["Au Roy," 10-11]). While the verb *recueillir* denotes the agricultural work of picking up what has been left behind after the harvest, it also points to the Renaissance poet himself, whose imitative poetry continues to participate in this more moderate, self-effacing conception of the creative process, whereby the poet collects and brings together in a *recueil*—such as the *Antiquitez*—the scattered relics of the ancient poets. Spenser translates Du Bellay's *recueillir* as "gather," rhyming it with "scater" in the poem's concluding couplet. The rhyme words recall Petrarch's oscillations between the scattered

[44] Greene, *The Light in Troy*, 241.

and the gathered within the more personal context of the *Rime sparse*, where he describes how he wanders through a landscape emptied not of Roman antiquities but of Laura's presence: *Così vo ricercando ogni contrada* / *ov' io la vidi* (*RS* 306.10-11; "Thus I go searching through every region where I saw her"). What he finds, however, is never Laura: *lei non trov' io, ma suoi santi vestigi* (306.12; "her I do not find, but I see her holy footprints"). Like Petrarch's poem, sonnet 30 concludes by emphasizing dispersal as the poet moves ever further away from that which he longs to recapture. Although Du Bellay and Spenser give their sonnet sequences a world-historical inflection that continually threatens to exceed the more limited temporal reach of the private, personal lyric, they also demonstrate how Petrarchan anxiety about the beloved's unavailability reiterates the crisis faced by Renaissance artists and poets in defining their relationship to an antiquity that often seemed remote, inaccessible, and unobtainable.

While references to poetry as a process of rebuilding disappear entirely from both sequences after sonnet 27, it is in sonnet 32, the last poem of the sequence proper, that *Ruines* makes its most overt—though also its most insecure and faltering—gesture to the Horatian *monumentum*. At the opening of the sequence, Spenser had addressed Rome's "heavenly spirites" directly, and he would do so again at the outset of sonnet 15: "Ye pallid spirits, and ye ashie ghoasts" (*RR* 197; *Palles Esprits, et vous Umbres pouldreuses* [*Ant*. 15.1]). In both instances, however, he fails to receive a response. In sonnet 32, by contrast, Spenser adopts the personal intimacy of the Petrarchan lyric speaker to address his own verses:

> Hope ye my verses that posteritie

Of age ensuing shall you ever read?

Hope ye that ever immortalitie

So meane Harpes worke may chalenge for her meed?

If under heaven anie endurance were,

These moniments, which not in paper writ,

But in Porphyre and Marble doo appeare,

Might well have hop'd to have obtained it.

Nath'les my Lute, whom *Phoebus* deigned to give,

Cease not to sound these olde antiquities:

For if that time doo let thy glorie live,

Well maist thou boast, how ever base thou bee,

That thou art first, which of thy Nation song

Th'olde honour of the people gowned long. (*RR* 435-48)

Esperez vous que la posterité

Doive (mes vers) pour tout jamais vous lire?

Esperez vous que l'œuvre d'une lyre

Puisse acquerir telle immortalité?

Si sous le ciel fust quelque eternité

Les monuments que je vous ay fait dire,

Non en papier, mais en marbre et porphyre,

Eussent gardé leur vive antiquité.

Ne laisse pas toutefois de sonner
Luth, qu'Apollon m'a bien daigné donner:
Car si le temps ta gloire ne desrobbe,
Vanter te peuls, quelque bas que tu sois,
D'avoir chanté le premier des François,
L'antique honneur du peuple à longue robbe. (*Ant.* 32)

Critical accounts of the *Antiquitez* have tended to emphasize Du Bellay's imitations of Horace and Virgil in this poem, yet the classical subtexts that sit just beneath the surface of the *Antiquitez* are also crucial for our understanding of *Ruines*. Although Spenser shares the same set of subtexts with Du Bellay, we can nonetheless identify Spenser's handling of his allusions to Horace and Virgil as his own rather than simply part of the act of translation. Whereas Du Bellay's sonnet inverts Horace's boast about the lasting power of verse and ironizes Virgil's claim of empire without end, Spenser's sonnet puts the two in tension by reasserting the Virgilian claim even in the face of the poem's frailty and unresponsiveness.

While the *Ruines of Rome* begins by insisting on a clear separation between the written monument and the material remains of Rome, it ends by inverting Horace's boast about the durability of verse, which sets the written *monumentum* against bronze and stone ones:

Exegi monumentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens

possit diruere aut innumerabilis

annorum series et fuga temporum.[45]

(I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze, more lofty than the regal structure of the pyramids, one which neither corroding rain nor the ungovernable North Wind can ever destroy, nor the countless series of the years, nor the flight of time.)

As Don Fowler has remarked of "the famous ambiguity of *situs*," which can mean both "site" or "structure" and "decay," the comparison between these two versions of the *monumentum* is "a dangerous procedure which leaves us uncertain what carries over with the metaphor. This is metaphorical marble, not real marble. But if real monuments decay, can we be so sure of metaphorical ones? Beneath the surface polish lurks the beginnings of decay, the potential for letters and sense to fall off the stone, the inner instability which in Horatian diagnostics always waits to betray the smooth marble front."[46] The paradox of the Horatian *monumentum*, then, is that it calls into question its own monumental stability, and it is the second quatrain of sonnet 32 that recognizes this paradox, inverting the Horatian claim. The monuments sculpted from marble and porphyry—not those written on paper—are the ones that "Might well have hop'd to have obtained" an undying stay in the world; by contrast, poetic monuments never appeared so delicate and brittle as

[45] Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. Niall Rudd (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004), *Odes* 3.30.1-5. Further citations of Horace's ode appear in the text and refer to book, poem, and line number.

[46] Don Fowler, "The Ruin of Time: Monuments and Survival at Rome," in *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 197-98.

they do here.[47] In acknowledging the tenuous fate of writings in general and English vernacular poetry in particular, the quatrain backtracks on the sequence's opening assertion that the "faire verses" of the ancients "shall never die . . . ne in ashes rest." Spenser's translation also reproduces the conditional phrasing of Du Bellay's sestet, so that what results is a decidedly conjectural hope about the lasting power of poetic monuments, though this, too, looks to Horace's ode:

> usque ego postera
> crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
> scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex. (*Odes* 3.30.7-9)
>
> (I shall continue to grow, fresh with the praise of posterity, as long as the priest climbs the Capitol with the silent virgin.)

Even when the written monuments of the past do survive, Horace seems to suggest, they rely on the state which supports them and to which they purport to give continued and continual rise. The transformation of visual, cultural, and political context ensures that their meanings change and are changeable, that they are subject to frequent reuse and reinterpretation, or from the vantage point of the Renaissance, to imitative rereadings

[47] In the 1558 edition of the *Antiquitez*, Du Bellay organizes his sonnets in groups of two per page, alternating between sonnets in decasyllables, which appear at the top of the page, and sonnets in longer alexandrines, which appear underneath them. It is a structure that Du Bellay notably inverts at the end of the sequence, weakening the stability of the architectural structure by placing sonnet 31, which is made up of alexandrines, at the top of the page, while the thinner decasyllabic sonnet 32 appears underneath it. For a different take on the original print context of the sequence, see Marie-Madeleine Fontaine, "Le Système des *Antiquités* de Du Bellay," in *Le Sonnet à la Renaissance des origins a XVII^e siècle*, ed. Yvonne Bellenger (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1986), 67-81, who argues that that this inversion gives Du Bellay's sequence a closural force by ending as he began, with a decasyllabic sonnet.

steeped in irony. The messages that the *monumentum* conveys and the responses that it engenders will have been altered, its powers to evoke the ancient world qualified.

The irony is especially piercing when the ancient texts attempt to predict their own glorious future, as Spenser surely knew from his readings of Du Bellay reading Horace and Virgil. The final line of *Antiquitez* 32 nails home this point about the vulnerability of the written *monumentum* to the vagaries of time, anachronism, and even material ruin. As is well known, the line imitates a passage from Book 1 of Virgil's *Aeneid* in which Jupiter prophesies that "the people gowned long" (*gens togata*) will be the bearers of empire without end (*imperium sine fine*).[48] By recontextualizing the prophecy within a sonnet sequence that shows us over and over again the material ruin of monumental Rome, the poem (and with it the *Antiquitez*) ends on a foreboding note of caution to any nation with imperial aspirations and any poet wishing to prophecy his own immortality in the monument of verse. For Spenser, however, his imitation of Virgil "takes a more reassuring . . . view of the poet's eternizing powers," as Coldiron notes, ending not as Du Bellay does, with his *desrobbe-robbe* rhyme and its "suspicion that poetic glory, like the Roman toga, is highly subject to the divestments of time," but rather

---

[48] Jupiter's prophecy about the Romans is as follows (cited from Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999]):

> hic ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> imperium sine fine dedi. quin aspera Iuno,
> quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
> consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
> Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatum. (*Aeneid* 1.278-82)
>
> (For [the Romans] I set no bounds in space or time; but have given empire without end. Spiteful Juno, who now in her fear troubles sea and earth and sky, shall change to better counsels and with me cherish the Romans, lords of the world, and the nation of the toga.)

On these lines within the context of *Antiquitez* 32, see in particular Pigman, "Du Bellay's Ambivalence," 329-30; and Greene, *The Light in Troy*, 227-28.

with an optimism for poetic longevity expressed in the couplet rhyme "song-long."[49] Readings of *Ruines* 32 often focus on these final, hopeful-sounding lines of Spenser's poem, which break from the labyrinth of ironies that Du Bellay's imitations of his ancient sources creates and counter the historical pessimism of the poem's inversion of the Horatian boast. By adjusting Du Bellay's reference to France, Spenser places himself in line to inherit the poetic mantle from the ancients, appropriating their cultural authority both for himself and for English letters and empire. At the same time, the modesty of the transposition from France to "thy Nation" (rather than England) tempers the celebratory note on which Spenser's *Ruines* would seem to end. In refraining from naming England, the final sonnet of the sequence proper leaves off unsure about England's place within the empire of letters.

II: *From the Poetic Monument to an Eternal Writing in the Sky*

Notwithstanding the firmness of Spenser's couplet, with its "song-long" rhyme and its tentative hope for the future of English poetry, the confidence communicated by his original "Envoy" breaks sharply from the sequence's previous meditations on the precariousness of the prophetic gesture and the instability of the Horatian *monumentum*, offering more of a retroactive imposition on the historical pessimism of the preceding sonnets than a culmination of confidence in the future of vernacular poetry:

L'Envoy

Bellay, first garland of free Poësie

[49] Coldiron, "How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*," 52, 50.

That *France* brought forth, though fruitfull of brave wits,
Well worthie thou of immortalitie,
That long hast traveld by thy learned writs,
  Olde *Rome* out of her ashes to revive,
And give a second life to dead decayes:
Needes must he all eternitie survive,
That can to other give eternall dayes.
  Thy dayes therefore are endless, and thy prayse
Excelling all, that ever went before;
And after thee, gins *Bartas* hie to rayse
His heavenly Muse, th'Almightie to adore.
  Live happie spirits, th'honour of your name,
  And fill the world with never dying fame. (*RR* 449-62)

As if to counteract the inversion of Horace's claim in sonnet 32, or that Jupiter's errant prophecy sits behind that poem's final couplet, Spenser's "Envoy" barrages us with a series of rhymes reinforcing the boast that verse does indeed outlast both stone and time: "Poesie-immortalitie"; "revive-survive"; "dayes-prayse-rayse"; and, in the couplet, "name-fame."[50] In addition, we can view Spenser's more confident "Envoy" as taking the place of Du Bellay's *Songe*, which immediately follows the *Antiquitez* in the 1558 printed edition. Spenser places his translation of *Songe* after both *Ruines* and *Muiopotmos* and

[50] On the optimism embedded in Spenser's rhyme words as a response to the *Antiquitez*, see M. L. Stapleton, "Spenser, the *Antiquitez de Rome*, and the Development of the English Sonnet Form," *Comparative Literature Studies* 27 (1990): 269.

between the two other visions sequences that conclude the *Complaints* volume.[51] Over and over again, *The Visions of Bellay* emblematizes Rome's rise to a position of monumental grandeur and imperial power before showing the dreamer its swift and dramatic fall: "I saw a tempest from the heaven descend, / Which this brave monument with flash did rend" (*VB* 41-42; *Je vy du ciel la tempeste descendre, / Et fouldroyer ce brave monument* [*Songe* 3.13-14]). It is a collapse, however, that applies as much to literary monuments as to architectural ones: "Sudden both *Palme* and *Olive* fell away, / And faire greene Lawrell branch did quite decay" (*VB* 125-26; *Adonc luy cheut la palme, et l'olivier,* / *Et du laurier la branche devint morte* [*Songe* 9.13-14]). With the death of the laurel, it would seem, there comes an end to any hope for a laureate succession from Rome to England. Because *The Visions of Bellay* does not have the same proximity to *Ruines* as *Songe* does to the *Antiquitez,* Spenser is able to defer its discordant lessons about human vanity and create a momentary opening within the context of *Ruines*—and indeed the *Complaints* volume more generally—to hope for English poetry.

The "Envoy," however, does not eradicate all doubt about the desire to use poetry as a vehicle for resuscitating the Roman spirits and restoring Rome to its former monumentality. "Although the 'Envoy' does not directly pose the question of whether a poet can serve both heaven and the ancient spirits of Rome," Ferguson writes, "that

[51] It is not altogether clear to what degree Spenser had control over the publication of *Complaints*. Jean R. Brink has challenged the prevailing critical orthodoxy that Spenser authorized the volume's publication, arguing against his involvement in the process on the grounds that Spenser would not have jeopardized his own self-promotion by sanctioning the publication of his satirical attacks on William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and *The Ruines of Time*; see "Who Fashioned Edmund Spenser?: The Textual History of *Complaints*," *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991): 153-68. Richard Rambuss, for one, finds that Brink's argument creates as many problems as it solves; see *Spenser's Secret Career* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 84, n. 48.

question lurks in the sonnet's concern with literary immortality."[52] Spenser comes closest to posing it in his second quatrain, where Du Bellay is granted "eternall dayes" for having given "a second life to dead decayes." Besides introducing a tinge of gloom to the "dayes-prayse-rayse" cluster of rhymes, "dead decayes" faintly echoes the sequence's earlier warnings about the strange, ungodly force of Rome's continued survival.[53] In *Ruines* 27, Spenser does away with Du Bellay's tone of reverence and admiration for Rome's "divine works," censuring the pride with which:

> Rome from day to day
> Repayring her decayed fashion,
> Renewes herselfe with buildings rich and gay[.] (*RR* 373-75)

> comme de jour en jour
> Rome fouillant son antique sejour,
> Se rebatist de tant d'œuvre divines[.] (*Ant.* 27.9-11)

The reference to Rome's "dead decayes" also glances back to *Ruines* 28: whereas Du Bellay emphasizes the dignity and magnificence of ancient Rome, which he likens to a great but dried up oak, Spenser alters the French original beyond recognition, so that we see only the oak's rot and sordidness: "And on her trunke all rotten and unsound / Onely

[52] Ferguson, "Afflatus of Ruin," 33.

[53] William Thomas shares something of Spenser's (and Du Bellay's) ambivalent attitude towards ancient Rome, following up his praise and lamentation for the ruins of Rome with a sharp and immediate condemnation of Roman pride and tyranny: "[T]hen perceived I how just the judgment of God is that hath made those antiquities to remain as a foul spoil of the Roman pride and for a witness to the world's end of their tyranny. So that I wot not whether of these two is greater: either the glory of that fame that the Romans purchased with their wonderful conquests, or their present miserable state with the deformity of their antiquities" (*The History of Italy*, 21).

supports herself for meate and wormes" (*RR* 385-86). Spenser concludes his version of the poem by taking a sardonic jab at the adoration with which the "devout people" (*RR* 388) are able to prop up a city that Protestant England had little trouble connecting to the Roman Catholic Church.[54]

While Spenser's "Envoy" is overwhelmingly gracious in its praise of Du Bellay, the depiction of ancient Rome as both an unattainable object of desire and a startling object of revulsion no doubt prompts Spenser to incorporate the French Huguenot poet Guillaume du Bartas. Rather than simply reaffirm a secular literary immortality, moreover, the sonnet responds to the poetic monument's vulnerability by beginning the process of converting the thematics of Horace's ode into the terms of a religious eternality. Although Spenser's poem does not refer to itself as a monument, its couplet reproduces the "name-fame" rhyme that often appeared on early modern tombs.[55] Resistant to the fate of the written monument as *Ruines* 32 understands it, the couplet suggests that we could read the poem as an enduring monument for the poets whom it names and praises. At the same time, the "Envoy," while it does not explicitly recount the apotheosis of the "happie spirits" of Du Bellay and Du Bartas, does recontextualize their immortality within the framework of lines 11-12 and Du Bartas's "heavenly Muse,"

[54] For more on the religious differences between *Antiquitez* 27-28 and *Ruines* 27-28, see Ferguson, "*Complaints: Ruines of Rome: by Bellay*," in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, 185-86; Brown, *The New Poet*, 89-93; and the *YESP*, 401.

[55] On the "name-fame" rhyme, see Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 156-58. Du Bellay had died in 1560, Guillaume du Bartas in 1590, just prior to the publication of the *Complaints* volume if not to the penning of the sonnet itself, and other than the mention of Virgil in *Ruines* 25, these are the only non-mythic poets mentioned by name in the entire sequence. The reference to the "heavenly Muse" of Du Bartas makes it almost certain that the poem was written sometime after the publication of his 1579 *Uranie*, and perhaps quite some time after Spenser's translation of the thirty-two poems of the sequence proper.

which the poet now "gins" (hymn-like) "hie to rayse / . . . th'Almightie to adore." The uncertainty surrounding the lasting power of the poetic *monumentum* is in the end translated into the terms of a vernacular poetry that aspires to a higher, more secure destiny than to its own instability and eventual ruin over time.

***

The celebratory confidence in the lasting power of verse that we find in Spenser's "Envoy" jars not only with the other poems of the *Ruines of Rome* but also with the other poems in the *Complaints* volume. Having already touched briefly on *The Tears of the Muses* and *The Visions of Bellay*, I now wish to turn to *The Ruines of Time*, a poem that enacts a less abrupt, more difficult transition from Horatian thematics to a religious eternality than the *Ruines of Rome* does. As cultural elegy, the poem is closely related to Spenser's sonnet sequence, though it also contains long passages on the deaths of Leicester, Walsingham, and (above all) Sidney, his former friends and patrons. Transposing Du Bellay's presentation of Rome's fall to English soil, Spenser tells of Verulamium (or Verlame), the Roman city that was once "*Britaines* pride" but "Of which there now remains no memorie, / Nor anie little moniment to see" (*RT* 37, 4-5).[56] The poem commences when the narrator comes across "th'auncient *Genius* of that Citie

[56] Spenser would of course give far more attention to "Briton Moniment" in *The Faerie Queene*, a fact which has inspired some recent studies on the relationship between that poem and Spenser's two *Ruines* poems from the *Complaints* volume; see, for example, Thomas Prendergast, "Spenser's Phantastic History, *The Ruines of Time*, and the Invention of Medievalism," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 175-96; and Bart van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 21-48. Other studies of monuments in *The Faerie Queene* have recently focused on England's creation of a new set of ruins in the wake of the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries; see esp. Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 101-35; and Maryclaire Moroney, "Spenser's Dissolution: Monasticism and Ruins in *The Faerie Queene* and *The View of the Present State of Ireland*," *Spenser Studies* 12 (1998): 105-32.

brent" (19), whose fate, she cries, was sealed with the fall of Rome: "*O Rome* thy ruine I lament and rue, / And in thy fall my fatall overthrowe" (71-72).

Unlike Rome with its visible monuments, however, Verlame lacks any external referent; rather, the city exists solely in the poem, as text, a fact that leads her to strike a Horatian pose in her praises for the English antiquarian William Camden, "the nourice of antiquitie, / And lantern unto late succeeding age" (169-70). His 1586 chorography, *Britannia*, aims to preserve something of England's ancient past by transferring the contents of its inscriptions to the printed page, and as in the opening quatrain to the *Ruines of Rome*, Verlame insists that Camden's work will escape the fate that befalls stone monuments: "*Cambden,* though time all moniments obscure, / Yet thy just labours ever shall endure" (174-75). When Verlame eventually turns her attention to mourning Sidney's death so that he does not "die / in foule forgetfulness" (377-78), she also offers a spirited defense of the immortalizing power of poetry's "wise words" (402), which:

> Ne may with storming showers be washt away,
> Ne bitter breathing windes with harmfull blast,
> Nor age, nor envie shall them ever wast.
>
> In vaine doo earthly Princes then, in vaine
> Seeke with Pyramides, to heaven aspired;
> Or huge Colosses, built with costlie paine;
> Or brasen Pillours, never to be fired,
> Or shrines, made of the mettall most desired;

To make their memories for ever live:

For how can mortall immortalitie give? (404-13)

Verlame's defense of poetry here paraphrases the opening lines of Horace's ode: stone and precious metals will not suffice to preserve the deeds and the reputations of those who build them. At the same time, she avoids using Horace's *monumentum* metaphor—indeed, nowhere in *The Ruines of Time* does Verlame refer to poems as monuments in their own right. Having already made the categorical pronouncement that time "obscure[s]" "all moniments," she seems unwilling to risk the metaphoric slippage between stone and text implicit in the term.

Of course, Spenser himself knows better than to adopt the viewpoint of Verlame, whose unrestrained praises and histrionic laments encourage us to be skeptical of her sense of her own monumental grandeur as a satellite city on the farthest outskirts of the Roman empire, as well as her claims about the lasting power of verse.[57] Like many of the other poems in the *Complaints* volume, the poem adopts what Eric MacPhail has called "a double vision" with respect to time: as the narrator moves through spells of illusion, disillusionment, and prophetic revelation, he glances backward to a time when Verulamium thrived before using the examples of a ruined past to forewarn against the vanity of thinking that any worldly thing could possibly outlast time.[58] The remaining sections of *The Ruines of Time* make an even stronger move away from the seeming

[57] On Verlame as an unreliable narrator, see in particular Carl J. Rasmussen, "'How Weak Be the Passions of Woefulness': Spenser's *Ruines of Time*," *Spenser Studies* 2 (1981):159-81.

[58] Eric MacPhail, "Prophecy and Memory in the Renaissance Dream Vision," in *The Force of Vision, II: Visions in History; Visions of the Other*, ed. Earl Miner et al. (Tokyo: International Comparative Literature Assn., 1995), 193.

permanence of writing in stone—or even on the printed page—than the "Envoy" to the *Ruines of Rome* did; instead, they move towards the permanence of a writing in the stars. Once Verlame has vanished from the scene, the narrator sees a succession of six "tragicke Pageants" (490) showing the precipitous ruin of the monumental wonders of the past, followed by a second series of six "other sights" (588) depicting Sidney's apotheosis. In the second of these visions, the narrator at first mistakes "th'Harpe of *Philisides* now dead" for that of Orpheus before it is "borne above the cloudes to be divin'd" (609, 611), and in the sixth and final vision, heaven and earth compete over which should be the keeper of the ark containing Sidney's ashes. When Mercury finally intervenes, he carries off the ark, giving Sidney "a second life / To live in heaven" (669-70). Although the event leaves both the earth and the poem's narrator grieving, the Horatian paradigm of a secular literary immortality comparing verse and stone is finally superseded by the writing in the sky of the "heavenly signe[s]" of Philisides (601).

Yet unlike in the "Envoy" to the *Ruines of Rome*—and unlike Verlame earlier in the poem—Spenser slips in a final, direct reference to the specifically poetic monument in the envoy declaring the recipient of the poem as Spenser's patron Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke:[59]

L: Envoy

Immortal spirite of *Philisides*,

[59] Recent discussions of monuments and an immortalizing, eternizing poetry in *The Ruines of Time* have had curiously little to say about Spenser's "Envoy"; see, for instance, the discussion of these *topoi* in Brown, *The New Poet*, 110-32; Prendergast, "Spenser's Phantastic History," 175-96; and van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History*, 30-36. For a recent exception, see Melehy, *The Poetics of Literary Transfer*, 134-36.

Which now art made the heavens ornament,
That whilome wast the worlds chiefst riches;
Give leave to him that lov'de thee to lament
His losse, by lacke of thee to heaven hent,
And with last duties of this broken verse,
Broken with sighes, to decke thy sable Herse.

And ye faire Ladie th'honor of your daies,
And glorie of the world, your high thoughts scorne;
Vouchsafe this moniment of his last praise,
With some few silver dropping teares t'adorne:
And as ye be of heavenlie off spring borne
So unto heaven let your high minde aspire,
And loath this drosse of sinfull worlds desire. (673-86)

Representative of a new authorial position within the poem, the envoy has a transformative effect on that which precedes it, tempering Verlame's clamorous expressions of grief while also continuing the process of consolation that had begun during the narrator's visionary experiences.[60] The envoy's focus on the Sidneys furthermore shows Spenser's emergent sense of English verse—including his own—as

[60] In her study of the Italian *congedo*, Catherine Keen writes that *congedi* (or envoys) "give a sense that the very last portion of the lyric offers a moment for reflection on the communicative act, in which both author and audience become aware of shifting from the fictional space of the lyric back to the world in which its words are read or spoken" ("'Va', mia canzone': Textual Transmission and the *Congedo* in Medieval Exile Lyrics," *Italian Studies* 64 [2009]: 184).

increasingly independent from foreign models. Although something of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez* and *Songe* sit behind *The Ruines of Time*, it is the Sidneys who are commemorated throughout, and especially here at the poem's end where they supplant the Frenchmen Du Bellay and Du Bartas from the prominent place they occupied in the concluding poem to the *Ruines of Rome*. What is more, the envoy comes around to the conclusion that the poem had been skirting up until now: for the first time, Spenser refers to his elegy for Sidney as a "moniment," a term recalling all of the previous contexts in which Verlame had used it to describe her own architectural ruin: "All such vaine moniments of earthlie masse," she laments, "Devour'd of Time, in time to nought doo passe" (419-20). The poem's final line recalls Verlame's assertion about the inevitable ruin that comes to all architectural monuments, worldly objects to which, she cautions readers, they should not become attached. Ferguson has remarked that the line's syntax "allows for the possibility [that 'the poem itself should be included among the objects to be abandoned'] without insisting on it."[61] I would argue that the envoy insists on this possibility more than she leads on. Indeed, the envoy runs the poetic monument through a series of demonstrative permutations: "*this* broken verse"; "*this* moniment of his last praise"; "*this* drosse of sinfull worlds desire." If the first two iterations unequivocally denote the poem that Spenser is in the process of finishing, then it becomes increasingly difficult to think that "this drosse of sinfull worlds desire" does not also refer to the poem, even if it refers to much more than just the poem. The apotheosis of the dead heroes whom the poets seek to immortalize separates and purifies their spirits from the

[61] Ferguson, "The Afflatus of Ruin," 39.

dust, ruin, and decay of the world, yet this would seem to do little for the monument of verse as a material object of worldly desire.

While it seems inconceivable to imagine a poet as historically-minded as Spenser not to want to remember and preserve the past, monuments provide a basis for much more than just memory. A reminder of his patron's as well as his own mortality, Spenser's poetic monument to the "Immortall spirite of *Philisides*" is also about the desire to shape the narrative of Sidney's heroic life and death for posterity; to fill in the historical *lacunae* of England's Roman past by recalling absent things into the present again; to establish a lengthy continuity between antiquity and England; and, in the last analysis, to achieve poetic fame and glory—for England, for Sidney, and for Spenser himself. The poem also broaches the desire, steadily emerging throughout the 1570s and 1580s, to transfer the ancient empire of letters and learning northward in order that England may assert a cultural authority to rival that of France and even ancient Rome ("if," Harvey reminds us, "it were possible"). For the Spenser of the *Complaints* volume, however, the envoy to *The Ruines of Time* must temper something of the fervor and the impulsiveness with which Verlame had mounted her quasi-Horatian defense of poetry's enduring quality. Rather than trying to reconcile the seemingly irreconcilable tensions between stone and text, Spenser renders the architectural metaphor explicit in a way that Verlame's misguided confidence in the lasting power of verse would never allow. As a result, his final lines must strike a tenuous balance between justifying a poetic recuperation of a lost antiquity—whereby English poets construct new poetic monuments upon what remains of the old—while also offering a debilitating self-critique of his

eternizing project. As Spenser's poem demonstrates in recalling the forgotten Verlame, reimagining the monuments of the past is typically left for future audiences after time has gotten hold of them. For his own poem, however, Spenser preemptively effects the break, a move that acknowledges in clear if understated terms the specter of futility that lies behind the English desire to create for posterity a monumental poetry of their own.

Chapter 3

The Donna Petrosa, the Myth of Pygmalion, and the Monument of Verse: Figurations of Stone in Samuel Daniel's Delia

In his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* of 1631, John Weever defines what constitutes a monument in broad terms:

> A Monument is a thing erected, made, or written, for a memoriall of some remarkable action, fit to bee transferred to future posterities. And thus generally taken, all religious Foundations, all sumptuous and magnificent Structures, Cities, Townes, Towres, Castles, Pillars, Pyramides, Crosses, Obeliskes, Amphitheaters, Statues, and the like, as well as Tombes and Sepulchres, are called Monuments.[1]

Weever's definition is capacious enough to include Edmund Spenser's Rome and poetry "made, or written, for a memoriall of some remarkable action," or in the case of the sonneteer, for a memorial to commemorate his beloved and transfer whatever is remarkable about her "to future posterities." Similarly, Samuel Daniel's 1592 sonnet sequence, *Delia*, which includes fifty poems, conceives of the monument in broad, inclusive terms, so that the sheer variety of its monumental imagery far exceeds what can be found in the other Elizabethan sonnet sequences of the 1590s. At turns, Daniel relates his verse immortalizing Delia to everything from paintings, arks, and trophies to the

[1] John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (facsimile rpt.) (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1979), 1.

poetic monuments of the ancient Latin poets, marble funeral monuments, and the architecture of antiquity.[2]

Like Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* and its complicated intertextual engagement with Du Bellay and Horace, Daniel reflects the variety of his monumentalizing imagery in the literary traditions involving stone and stoniness from which his sequence draws. In particular, he shows an indebtedness to the *donna petrosa* tradition that stems from Dantean and Petrarchan verse, as well as to Ovid's Pygmalion myth from Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*. Daniel makes explicit reference to the myth just once, in sonnet 13 ("Behold what happe *Pigmaleon* had to frame"[3]), but its relevance to the rest of the sequence extends beyond just that poem. In describing his beloved's attitude towards him, Daniel adapts the myth to fit the constraints of a genre in which the poet-lover attempts (usually unsuccessfully) to soften the stoniness of a merciless and unfeeling beloved, linking Pygmalion's statue of an ideal woman, whom the sculptor desires to transform from ivory into a living, breathing woman, to the real-life hardhearted woman who is the subject of his sonnet sequence. To be sure, Daniel was not the only writer to make use of such a combination. In an essay about Renaissance sculpture and the statue of Hermione in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, Leonard Barkan has shown how her metamorphosis from stone to flesh at the end of the play assimilates the Ovidian myth "to

[2] On eternizing conceits in Daniel's *Delia*, see Joseph Kau, "*Delia*'s Gentle Lover and the Eternizing Conceit in Elizabethan Sonnets," *Anglia: Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie* 92 (1974): 334-48.

[3] *Samuel Daniel: Poems and A Defence of Ryme*, ed. Arthur Colby Sprague (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1930), 13.1. All citations of Daniel's poetry are from this edition, appear in the text, and refer to poem and line number.

the Petrarchan action of coaxing warmth and responsiveness out of a *donna crudele*."[4] What *is* unique about Daniel's sonnet sequence is that it combines these two strands of imagining the beloved as stony with a third: her monumentalization in the metaphoric marble of verse.[5] If Petrarchan lyric emphasizes the beloved's stony, statuesque quality and how the would-be lover wishes he could, like Pygmalion, turn stone into flesh (or stoniness into tenderness), then Daniel's sonnets offer a conflicting, even contradictory, impulse to commemorate Delia in the monument of verse. Instead, they envision turning flesh into stone, a poetic effigy of his beloved that fixes an image of her beauty for all posterity to see.

In this chapter, I argue that these different figurations of stone and stoniness structure Daniel's sonnet sequence as it turns from emphasizing the hardheartedness of his *donna petrosa* to foregrounding the poetic monument. In failing to coax warmth and tenderness from Delia, Daniel, in the second half of his sequence, asserts his authorial control over his beloved by taking his statuesque *donna petrosa* and reshaping her into another version of metaphoric marble: the funeral monument of verse. Weever's definition of "monument" lumps all kinds of them together, so that he includes tombs

[4] Leonard Barkan, "'Living Sculptures': Ovid, Michelangelo, and the *Winter's Tale*," *ELH* 48 (1981): 660. As he notes, the parallel between Pygmalion's statue and the unresponsive *donna petrosa* was not lost on Daniel (660).

[5] In his *Amoretti* (1595), Spenser will refer regularly to his beloved's hardheartedness ("Yet cannot I with many a dropping teare, / and long intreaty soften her hard hart"), but only once does he refer to his own verse as a "moniment," in sonnet 69 (*The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. William A. Oram et al. [New Haven: Yale UP, 1989], 18.5-6). Further citations of the *Amoretti* appear in the text and refer to poem and line number. On the hardheartedness of Spenser's beloved, see *Amoretti* 14.9-10, 25.9, 31.1-2, 32.5-6 and 13-14, 51 (in which Spenser compares his *donna petrosa* to the enduring marble "ymages" or "moniments" that he sees [51.1, 4]), 54.11-14, and 56.9-10. In contrast to sonnet 69, in which Spenser boasts of the "immortall moniment" that he creates for his beloved (69.10), sonnet 82 sets the "golden moniment" (to be written by "som hevenly wit") against the verse that Spenser, being of "little worth," actually writes (82.8, 7, 10).

with those "sumptuous and magnificent" architectural structures that often commemorate simply by their very survival.[6] Yet funeral monuments function differently from monumental architecture in the deliberateness with which those who erect them attempt to fix a particular image of the individual they commemorate and to communicate their message about her: to the still-living subject, to those who mourn her after she has died, and to those audiences who will encounter her effigy in the distant future.[7] Although Daniel also conceives of the monument in broad terms, I come to focus on those indicating that Delia's immortality first requires her entombment. Not only does the funeral monument pick up on the thematics of Delia's stony nature from the first half of the sequence, then, it also gives Daniel an opportunity to shape the form that her stoniness will take as he conveys to posterity an image of his beloved as he sees her. While the animative power of the sculptor's art narrated in Ovid's myth subtends Daniel's claims that he can immortalize Delia in the monument of verse, Delia's metamorphosis into a marble-like monument, which Daniel constructs for her even while she is still in the prime of her life, also marks her death: "These [lines] shall intombe those eyes," Daniel claims (36.11).[8] In substituting over the course of the sequence one version of stoniness for another, Daniel draws on the poetic monument to evoke Delia's presence in a physical artifact that joins their names together in writing, that is, to aid him

[6] See "monument, n.," entry 4a, in the *OED*.
[7] For more on the deliberateness with which funeral monuments were erected in the Renaissance, see Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 1-15 (esp. 1-2).
[8] In "'The Achievement of Print': Samuel Daniel and the Anxiety of Authorship," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 29 (2003): 101-18, Stephen Guy-Bray notes that "a monument, after all, is one of the proofs that someone is dead" (105).

in performing a compensatory work as he grieves over his *donna petrosa*'s total unavailability to him in the present.

Insofar as his transformation of Delia into stone is occasioned by her rejection of his love, however, Daniel's monumentalizing project tends to reenact a more common Ovidian tendency; indeed, the story of Pygmalion is unusual in Ovid in that it provides one of the poem's few instances of a myth that ends with stone softening into flesh rather than flesh hardening into stone.[9] In this sense, Daniel is less a Pygmalion figure who (with Venus's help) animates the statue that will become his lover and his wife; rather, although Daniel attempts to soften his *donna petrosa* and have her respond to his amorous advances, his monumentalization of her resembles those Ovidian myths that end with individuals taking on a stony embodiment for denying love, the result of an act of retribution that, in the case of Delia, she wishes to resist. As a monument to posterity, moreover, Daniel's collection of sonnets immortalizing his beloved is no longer private and ephemeral but public and lasting, so that the transformation of the form Delia's stoniness takes marks the public disclosure of what is essentially private experience. I argue that in the final poems of *Delia*, we can trace an insecurity in Daniel's

[9] For a catalogue of the myths involving stone and stoniness in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, see Douglas F. Bauer, "The Function of the Pygmalion Myth in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962): 1-21; and Georges Lafaye, *Les métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1904), 247-48. In the *Metamorphoses*, as Barkan notes, "[t]ransformation to stone is often a sign that human feelings and human life have wasted away" ("Living Sculptures," 643). Some of the more prominent myths in which humans harden into stone or become stony monuments of themselves include Phaethon and Clymene (2.319-39); Mercury and Aglauros (2.815-32); Echo, whose bones turn into stone (3.395-99); Juno and the four Theban women (4.543-62); Niobe (6.296-312); Meleager and his sisters (8.533-41); the Propoetides (10.238-42); Galatea and Polyphemus (13.798-801); and Anaxarete (14.698-764). On the end result of Ovidian metamorphosis, which is often "structured according to the logic of funerary commemoration and memorialisation," i.e., where an individual "ceases to exist" and yet "enjoys survival of a kind" (81), see Philip Hardie, *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 81-84.

monumentalizing project to a rift that opens up between competing claims one could make in the period about the amorous lyric as a genre: that it is ephemeral and ostensibly private in nature; and that it is monumental, thus making public the poet's failures in love.

I: *The Donna Petrosa and the Myth of Pygmalion*

As in most sonnet sequences, the opening sonnets of *Delia* are prefatory, and as Michael R. G. Spiller notes, they "offer contrasting views of [Daniel's] own writing": whereas "the first sonnet . . . treat[s] writing as writing," the second imagines itself as speech that is meant to be heard.[10] From thinking in the opening sonnet about his sequence as a book that the poet-lover charges Delia to pick up and read ("Heere I vnclaspe the booke of my charg'd soule" [1.5]), Daniel shifts in the second to emphasizing the immediacy of his plaints, which intend to soften Delia's hard heart:

> Goe wailing verse, the infants of my loue,
> *Minerua*-like, brought foorth without a Mother:
> Present the image of the cares I proue,
> Witnes your Fathers griefe exceedes all other.
> Sigh out a story of her cruell deedes,
> With interrupted accents of dispayre:
> A Monument that whoseuer reedes,
> May iustly praise, and blame my loueless Faire.

[10] Michael R. G. Spiller, *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1992), 138, 139.

Say her disdaine hath dryed vp my blood,
And starued you, in succours still denying:
Presse to her eyes, importune me some good;
Waken her sleeping pittie with your crying.
Knock at that hard hart, beg till you haue moou'd her;
And tell th'vnkind, how deerely I haue lou'd her. (*Delia* 2)

In contrast to Spiller, I wish to suggest that the poem shifts back and forth between presenting itself as a message containing a series of passionate sighs and wailings and as a written monument created to be read, that is, to be seen, a poetic object that is fixed and stable, inscriptional and perhaps even epitaphic in nature. In moving between the poem as speech and the poem as writing, Daniel is able to introduce us to two different figurations of stone: the *donna petrosa*, whose hard heart the poet's verse presently attempts to move, and the poetic monument, which is meant to preserve an image of Delia—both her youthful grace and beauty as well as her hardhearted cruelty—for posterity.

Already at the outset of his sequence, then, Daniel is preparing us to think about the shaping power that his monumentalizing verse has over the woman who refuses to return his love. As Stephen Guy-Bray has argued, the sonnet's opening reference to the myth of Minerva is suggestive in this regard because it supplies a parallel to the creation of Daniel's sonnets. By presenting the poems as "*Minerua*-like, brought foorth without a Mother," Daniel implicitly places himself in the position of Jupiter, who gives birth to Minerva after impregnating and then consuming the goddess Metis for fear that their child would overtake him. Guy-Bray suggests that Daniel uses the myth as "an example

of how a man can neutralize the threat posed by women." In this sense, it is "a parable about the power of the [male] artist" to produce offspring in the form of his own poetry: "women are the raw materials for the artist's work, but they are only indispensible for the first step in the artistic process," before the book becomes a public artifact and takes on "a life of its own."[11] While I find Guy-Bray's reading of the gender dynamics implied in the Minerva myth to be generally convincing, the relationship between gender and power is more clearly bound up in Daniel's images of stone and stoniness and in the audiences who will read his poetic monument. If in the bulk of sonnet 2 Daniel focuses on present woes stemming from past failures, his reference in lines 7-8 to the monument that he is in the process of creating emphasizes a future time and a future readership. Although this particular sonnet ends with a plea that the poem knock on his beloved's hard heart, *now*, in the improbable hope that she may come to love him, the poem is already looking ahead to a future time when it will become a monument made public to "whoseuer reedes" it, moving temporally from the *donna petrosa* who shuns the poet in the present to Daniel's refiguration of her stoniness in a funeral monument for future readers.[12] Daniel's recourse to monumental imagery to describe his poem lengthens the temporal perspective beyond just the immediate future, even though it is unlikely to produce a different result with

[11] Guy-Bray, "The Achievement of Print," 107, 108, 109. Guy-Bray discusses the dedication of *Delia* to Mary Sidney in a similar light: the promise of immortal life in poetry will "clearly have the effect (in the long run) of reversing the power dynamic between the poet and each of these powerful women. Publication will give the poet an existence independent of the patronage it originally required" (105). The argument is similar to the one that Arthur Marotti makes about Shakespeare's monumentalizing verse to the fair youth of the *Sonnets* and its power to upset the social hierarchy between poet and patron; see "'*Love* Is Not *Love*': Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order," *ELH* 49 (1982): 396-428 (esp. 410-13).

[12] For more on the temporal framework of these opening sonnets, see Jane Hedley, *Power in Verse: Metaphor and Metonymy in the Renaissance Lyric* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania, 1988), 100-02.

respect to his interactions with Delia from the weariness and the disappointment that he has so far experienced. It is, in short, destined to be read by a much broader audience than just his beloved. Yet Daniel's motivations for monumentalizing his beloved here at the beginning of the sequence have a sharper edge to them. In particular, the ambivalence of lines 7-8 suggests that he expects us to react sometimes with praise and sometimes with blame for his *donna petrosa*, though it may be that the poem is the sole object worthy of our praise, "A Monument that whosoeuer reedes, / May iustly praise" it alone while blaming Delia. Although these lines suggest that praise may attach to both Delia and the poem, blame can move only in the direction of his "loueless Faire." In just the second sonnet of the sequence, one purpose of Daniel's monumentalizing verse would seem to be clear enough: if the poet has little influence over how his beloved will respond to his present overtures, he nonetheless has it within his control to decide how to represent her for posterity.

In its movements between present and future time, the poem's structure mimics that of the sonnet sequence in general. For Daniel will develop in succession two different figurations of stoniness over the course of *Delia*, concentrating first on the *donna petrosa* before emphasizing the monumentalizing quality of his verse, which begins to take precedence in Daniel's imagination from sonnet 30. By contrast, the first twenty-nine poems indicate (and here Daniel addresses his verse) "that nought we doe can moue her" (8.13). Sonnet 11 describes his cruel fair as having "the hardest hart" and states that the poet's weeping "cannot soften flint" (11.1, 3), though the poem ends by indicating that he will nonetheless continue in his attempts to wear the stone away with

his tears. Likewise, in sonnet 17, Daniel must hopelessly continue pursuing his beloved even after his desire has slackened: "Still must I whet my younge desires abated, / Vppon the Flint of such a hart rebelling" (17.9-10). Sonnet 18 employs a blazoning technique as he charges Delia to give back all of her best (and worst) features—her tresses, eyes, blush, voice, mind, and heart—to those from whom she borrowed them; it ends, however, by emphasizing her unresponsiveness: "Yeelde to the Marble thy hard hart againe; / So shalt thou cease to plague, and I to pain" (18.13-14). By turning back into a block of marble and losing her current statuesque form, Daniel suggests, Delia will also lose her ability to harm her would-be lover. Sonnet 23 picks up the epideictic theme of sonnet 2 and expands upon it, making Delia the subject of both praise and blame: "Ile praise her face," he states, "and blame her flintie hart" (23.12). Finally, in sonnet 29, Daniel turns to another Ovidian myth and compares Delia to Narcissus; rather than staring at her reflection in a pool of water, however, she instead gazes at her image in a mirror, and rather than metamorphosing into a flower she instead turns into stone: "And you are chaung'd, but not t'a Hiacint; / I fear your eye hath turn'd your heart to flint" (29.13-14).[13]

For all of the suggestiveness of the Minerva myth, it is the ubiquitousness of stone in the sequence and the pervasiveness of the poet's attempts to coax warmth and feeling

[13] Narcissus, however, upon first falling in love with his own form, becomes "Astraughted, like an image made of marble stone he lies, / There gazing on his shadow still with fixèd staring eyes" (3.523-24; *adstupet ipse sibi vultuque inmotus eodem / haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum* [3.418-19]). I cite from Arthur Golding's 1567 translation, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, ed. Madeleine Forey (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001); and from Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Books IX-XV*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984). Further citations of both Ovid and Golding's translation appear in the text and refer to book and line number.

from a *donna petrosa* that make Daniel's use of Ovid's Pygmalion myth central to how we understand the sequence. Ovid recounts the myth in Book 10 of the *Metamorphoses*, leading into it by first telling of Venus's punishment of the Propoetides, women who deny the goddess of love her divinity. In becoming the first prostitutes, the Propoetides lose all sense of shame and thus their capacity to blush, which leads Venus to transform them into versions of what they already are, hardening the blood in their faces so that "she turnèd them to stone, / In which between their former shape was difference small or none" (10. 259-60; *utque pudor cessit, sanguisque induruit oris,* / *in rigidum parvo silicem discrimine versae* [10.241-42]). Pygmalion, who had witnessed how the Propoetides spent their lives, becomes disgusted, though not just with the Propoetides; rather, he directs his revulsion at all women, secludes himself from society, and refuses to marry because of their immorality and impiety. In turning away from nature towards art and shunning women from his life, he channels his disgust and his misogyny into an act of artistic creation, substituting his sculpture of an ideal woman for the real-life women whom he rejects.[14] He creates an ivory statue of a woman more beautiful than any woman ever born and falls in love with it (*sculpsit ebur formamque dedit, qua femina nasci* / *nulla potest, operisque sui concepit amorem* [10.248-49]); he fantasizes that his statue is alive (*quam vivere credas* [10.250]); he caresses, kisses, and fondles it, so much so that "He believed his fingers made a dint / Upon her flesh," that his touch impacts the shaping of her body (10.277-78; *et credit tactis digitos insidere membris* [10.257]); he speaks to it and dresses it; and eventually he prays to Venus that he may have a wife just like his

[14] On the relationship between nature and art in the myth, see Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986), 75-78.

ivory maid (*similis mea . . . eburnae* [10.276]). When Pygmalion returns home from having offered his prayer, he again begins to embrace his statue only to find that Venus, in an act of divine intervention, has rewarded him:

> visa tepere est;
> admovet os iterum, manibus quoque pectora temptat:
> temptatum mollescit ebur positoque rigore
> subsidit digitis ceditque[.] (10.281-84)

> In her body straight a warmness seemed to spread.
> He put his mouth again to hers and on her breast did lay
> His hand. The ivory waxèd soft and, putting quite away
> All hardness, yielded underneath his fingers[.] (10.306-09)

The process of vivification that Pygmalion had begun through his own "wondrous art" (10.265; *mira . . . arte* [10.247]) and continued with his kisses and caresses is now complete, his wish fulfilled, as his statue comes to life at his touch. For Venus, metamorphosis amounts to being sentenced to a state somewhere between death and exile.[15] Yet if the Propoetides' transformation into stone literalizes what was already true about them, removing them from all human community, then Pygmalion's artistic endeavor reverses the near death sentence that metamorphosis into cold, inanimate stone

[15] Just prior to punishing the Propoetides, Venus deliberates about what to do with the Cerestae, who sacrifice their guests at an altar for Jove, and decides to change them into bulls: "Nay, rather let this wicked race by exile punished been, / Or death, or by some other thing that is a mean between / Both death and exile. What is that save only for to change / Their shape?" (*Met.* 10.247-50; *exilio poenam potius gens inpia pendat* / *vel nece vel siquid medium est mortisque fugaeque.* / *idque quid esse potest, nisi versae poena figurae?*" [*Met.* 10.232-34]).

represents in the Propoetides myth. In changing the statue into flesh and blood, Venus also restores the sculptor himself to society, first as a participant at her festal day and eventually through marriage, a rite he had formerly rejected.

Like Pygmalion, the sonneteering poet-lover obsesses over softening his beloved's stoniness and transforming hardheartedness into tenderness and affection. In his *Rime sparse*, Petrarch sets the precedent for later sonneteers when he takes what is implicit in Ovid's myth and draws an explicit parallel between Pygmalion's inanimate statue and his real-life but statuesque *donna petrosa*:

> Pigmaliòn, quanto lodar ti dei
> de l'imagine tua, se mille volte
> n'avesti quel ch' i' sol una vorrei![16]
>
> (Pygmalion, how glad you should be of your statue, since you received a thousand times what I yearn to have just once!)

Petrarch downplays the eroticism of Ovid's myth and its emphasis on the tactile and touch as he laments that Pygmalion's experiences in love are entirely unavailable to him.[17] Given over to erotic failure and frustration, the sonneteer looks to the outcome of the myth's events as a counter-example to what happens in his own situation, where he

[16] *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* Rime sparse *and Other Lyrics*, trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976), *RS* 78.12-14. Further citations of the *Rime* appear in the text and refer to poem and line number.

[17] For Ovid's emphasis on physiological detail, tactility, and touch, see George L. Hersey, *Falling in Love with Statues: Artificial Humans from Pygmalion to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009), 90-110; and Victor I. Stoichita, *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock*, trans. Alison Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 7-20.

inevitably falls short in his attempts to coax warmth from his beloved—to become another Pygmalion—and continues to retreat inward as a result. In sonnet 13, Daniel draws out the parallel:

> Beholde what happe *Pigmaleon* had to frame,
> And carue his proper griefe vpon a stone:
> My heauie fortune is much like the same,
> I worke on Flint, and that's the cause I mone.
> For haples loe euen with mine owne desires,
> I figured on the table of my harte,
> The fairest forme, the worldes eye admires,
> And so did perish by my proper arte.
> And still I toile, to chaunge the marble brest
> Of her, whose sweetest grace I doe adore:
> Yet cannot finde her breathe vnto my rest,
> Hard is her hart and woe is me therefore.
> O happie he that ioy'd his stone and arte,
> Vnhappy I to loue a stony harte. (*Delia* 13)

The sonnet condenses the transformation of Pygmalion's statue from stone to flesh into just a single line, referring only obliquely to the myth's eroticism when it mentions that Pygmalion "joy'd his stone and arte."[18] Instead, Daniel concentrates all of our attention

[18] In this regard, Daniel's sonnet contrasts sharply with John Marston's poem "The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image" (1598), which offers a response to the frustrations experienced by the sonneteer. Marston recounts the tale of Pygmalion in far more erotic detail than even Ovid's version does and then

on the interminable continuation of his own grief and woe. Although Daniel begins by playing up the similarities between their situations, his own "proper arte" is quite unlike Pygmalion's sculpture: whereas Pygmalion withdraws from society "to frame" and "carue" his image of an ideal woman out of actual, material stone, Daniel takes the myth one step further and adapts it to the condition of the sonneteer by internalizing "the fairest forme" of Delia "on the table of [his] harte," which Delia's cruelty has turned to stone: "I worke on Flint," Daniel declares, "and that's the cause I mone." If at first it seems as though the line refers to Delia's flintiness and the poet's inability to soften her, the second quatrain indicates that flint, a material that often stands in for hard stone in general, refers to his own heart.[19] In contrast, Delia's heart is made of marble, a material often associated with its use in sculpted monuments and architecture (in sonnet 36, Daniel will refer to his own monument of Delia as marble-like). Her marble image takes on a funereal quality by the time we reach line 11, where Daniel portrays Delia as lacking breath, as more dead than alive: he "cannot find her breathe vnto [his] rest," that is, "to give [him] relief" (as Daniel's most recent editors gloss the phrase[20]), though the phrase could also mean something like "until his grave," which is to say, never in his lifetime.

---

boasts how he would act as Pygmalion had with respect to his own hardhearted mistress, if only given the opportunity:

> O wonder not to heare me thus relate,
> And say to flesh transformed was a stone.
> Had I my Loue in such a wished state
> As was afforded to *Pigmalion*,
> Though flinty hard, of her you soone should see
> As strange a transformation wrought by mee.

I cite from *The Poems of John Marston*, ed. Arnold Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1961), 59.

[19] See "flint," entry 1a, in the *OED*.

[20] *Samuel Daniel: Selected Poetry and A Defense of Rhyme*, ed. Geoffrey G. Hiller and Peter L. Groves (Asheville: Pegasus, 1998), 37.

While Daniel's couplet rhyme suggests that he is tantalizingly close to pulling off the Pygmalion-like feat of "chaung[ing] the marble breast" of Delia into flesh (there is, after all, little difference in sound between Pygmalion's "stone and arte" and Delia's "stony harte"), its contrast between "happie" and "Vnhappy" pronounces unequivocally what the poem and the sequence have been saying all along: Daniel's *donna petrosa* will never warm to him as Pygmalion's statue did for her creator.

What I wish to stress, however, is the role that denial and rejection play in accounting for why women receive a stony embodiment. Daniel's phrase about Pygmalion's having carved his "proper griefe vpon a stone" subtly admits into the sonnet some of the darker undercurrents that form the prologue to the Pygmalion myth. In denying the goddess of love, the Propoetides already lack warmth and tenderness even before Venus hardens them into stone. The "proper griefe" that Pygmalion feels thus stems from the stoniness of the Propoetides as representative of all real-life women, so that the problem they present for him inspires his creation of a sculpted work of art in the form of an ideal woman. Daniel opens his poem by suggesting that his own grief "is much like the same" as Pygmalion's. As a result, the sonnet creates some confusion about which version of the statuesque Delia represents: like Pygmalion's sculpture, she is "The fairest forme, the worldes eye admires"; at the same time, she has, like the Propoetides, rejected (Daniel's) love and become a hardhearted *donna petrosa* whom the poet feels is responsible for his own "proper griefe." There is even a sense in which Daniel misreads the analogy insofar as Delia would seem to have more in common with the Propoetides than with Pygmalion's statue; indeed, the latter portion of the sequence will exhibit that

there is a similar dynamic at work between the causes of Pygmalion's wanting to sculpt an ideal woman and those of Daniel's desire to monumentalize his beloved. If the stone-like Propoetides reject the goddess of love and force Pygmalion to turn to the act of sculpting, then Delia's rejection of the poet-lover's amorous advances compels Daniel to substitute one version of Delia's stoniness—the poetic monumentalization of his beloved—for another—the beloved as a statuesque *donna petrosa*. Unlike Pygmalion, however, whose sculpture of an ideal woman departs from the real-life women from whom he turns, Daniel keeps his attention focused throughout on his hardhearted beloved, because the *donna petrosa* and the sculpted monument are (of) the same woman. Daniel's sonnet sequence thus reenacts the broad contours of the Pygmalion myth, minus its conclusion, not only in sonnet 13 but also over the course of the entire sequence. Like Venus with the Propoetides, Daniel transforms Delia into a stony version of what, according to the poet, she already is, even though he never ceases from hoping that he will be able to soften Delia's "marble brest."

II: *From the Donna Petrosa to the Marble Monument*

> But, fair soul,
> In your fine frame hath love no quality?
> If the quick fire of youth light not your mind,
> You are no maiden, but a monument.
> When you are dead, you should be such a one
> As you are now; for you are cold and stern,

And now you should be as your mother was

When your sweet self was got.

-*All's Well That Ends Well*, 4.2.3-10

Such a structuring is not to suggest that Daniel gives a narrative coherence to his poems at the level of its "events"; rather, if *Delia* exhibits a structure, it occurs at the level of Daniel's sequencing of the different literary traditions—Petrarchan, Ovidian, Horatian—in which images of stone and stoniness appear most powerfully.[21] In this respect, my reading of *Delia* dovetails with C. F. Williamson's and his claim that "no story does not mean no shape."[22] Although Daniel is at first apologetic about his poems, Williamson argues, he becomes increasingly confident about the power of his verse to immortalize Delia over the course of his sequence. In what follows, I extend but also qualify his argument about the sequence's structure. To be sure, Daniel's outlook on his poetry tends to improve over the course of the sequence, and this newfound self-confidence corresponds with a change in his attitude towards his *donna petrosa* and the form her stoniness will take. Yet even as Daniel comes to emphasize his monumentalizing triumphs, his sequence also continues to remind us, albeit intermittently, of Delia's hardheartedness and his own insecurities with respect to his *donna petrosa* until the very last lines of the sequence.

[21] As Heather Dubrow writes in *The Challenges of Orpheus: Lyric Poetry and Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007): "[O]ften it is through tropes and images rather than a story that the units in a sonnet collection are united" (178).

[22] C. F. Williamson, "The Design of Daniel's *Delia*," *Review of English Studies* 19 (1968): 252. Although he looks at the 1601 version of *Delia*, in its broad outlines, Williamson's reading holds for the 1592 version as well.

After sonnet 29, in which Delia gazes Narcissus-like into a mirror only to metamorphose into stone, references to her hard and stony heart begin to thin out noticeably. Sonnet 40 refers to "the rocke of that hard hart" that nothing "can moue" (40.9), while the following sonnet makes mention of "the yce that hath congeald her hart" (41.8). There is one other crucial exception where Daniel calls to mind his earlier complaints about Delia's stoniness, right at the end of the sequence, yet Daniel's poems about Delia as the *donna petrosa* generally give way to a series of lengthier meditations on "tyrant Times desire" (30.7) and the monumentalizing, immortalizing power of verse. That Delia will begin to show "her winter-withered hue" (30.10) only becomes a central component of the sequence from this point forward. Rather than use the inevitability that Delia's beauty will one day deteriorate to play up *carpe diem* motifs (though these do occur, for example, in sonnets 31, 32, and 43), Daniel instead uses the fact of her aging to express a newly emergent confidence in the role that his verse will play in preserving her youth and grace.[23] Confidence comes, in other words, only from the expectation that Delia will grow old and that her aging will compel her to acknowledge him and his memorial describing her former beauty: "Goe you my verse, goe tell her what she was," he states with a tinge of vengefulness, "For what she was she best shall finde in you" (30.11-12).

The emphasis on Delia's aging that emerges in the second half of the sequence thus leads quite easily to a corresponding focus on the reception of his verse as a monument fit for future audiences to see and read. In sonnet 34 ("When winter snowes

[23] On *carpe diem* motifs in *Delia*, see Elizabeth Harris Sagaser, "Sporting the While: Carpe Diem and the Cruel Fair in Samuel Daniel's *Delia* and the *Complaint of Rosamond*," *Exemplaria* 10 (1998): 145-70.

vpon thy golden heares"), for example, Daniel conceives of his sonnet as a "picture," one "Limned with a Pensill [i.e., paintbrush] not all vnworthy" (34.5-6).[24] The poem imagines a future time when Delia, in her old age, will still be able to view her portrait: "Heere see the giftes that God and nature lent thee; / Heere read thy selfe, and what I suffred for thee" (34.7-8). In the third quatrain, however, the poem moves to a future time long after her death, when posterity will prize her:

> This may remaine thy lasting monument,
> Which happily posteritie may cherish:
> These collours with thy fading are not spent;
> These may remaine, when thou and I shall perish. (34.9-12)

Sonnet 34 marks the first time since sonnet 2 that Daniel has likened his sonnets to a monument, and he uses a series of deictic markers at the beginnings of his lines as a means of turning Delia's attention towards his poem, compelling her to look upon it ("Heere see" [34.7]; Heere read" [34.8]; "This"; "These"; "These"). After both their deaths, Daniel insists, only the colors of his poem will "remaine," a verb he repeats an additional two times in the sonnet's couplet: "If they remaine, then thou shalt liue thereby; / They will remaine, and so thou canst not dye" (34.13-14).[25] Shifting from

[24] Sonnet 35 also mentions the practice of limning, which in the Renaissance can mean "to illuminate (letters, manuscripts, books)"; "to adorn or embellish with gold or bright colour"; and "to paint (a picture or portrait); to portray, depict (a subject)"; see "limn, v.," entries 1-3, in the *OED*. In these instances, Daniel would seem to have the last definition in mind, as he compares Petrarch's portrait of Laura to his own of Delia: "But though that *Laura* better limned bee, / Suffice, thou shalt be lou'd as well as shee" (35.13-14). On the art of limning and its relationship to painting (and heraldry) in the English Renaissance, see Lucy Gent, *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance* (Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981), 17.

[25] The anonymous poet of *Zephiria* (1594) likewise uses the metaphor of limning to make that sequence's lone eternizing claim: "Yet, then, in these limned lines ennobled more, / Thou shalt survive, richer

conditional statements ("These may remaine"; "If they remaine") about the lasting power of his verse to the much more definitive claim of the final line, these lines project Daniel's portrait of Delia forward in time, turning it into a "lasting monument" that she is nonetheless made to encounter even while she still lives, and perhaps long before her death.

If sonnet 34 concentrates on the portrait as a monument to posterity, later sonnets return us to the stone with which we became familiar earlier in the sequence. In contrast to those poems, however, the emphasis falls not on Delia as the *donna petrosa* but rather on the poem itself as metaphoric stone: "How many liue, the glory of whose name, / Shall rest in yce, when thine is grau'd in Marble" (36.7-8). Insofar as Daniel likens his verse to a funeral monument recording her name and made of marble, we can read his monumentalizing verse as accomplishing the opposite of what Pygmalion achieves by way of Venus in transforming cold stone into living, feeling flesh. Indeed, there is a very literal sense in which Daniel's monumental verse to his beloved reverses the movement of the Ovidian myth as he turns his still-living, flesh-and-blood beloved into stone; or rather, like that which Venus does to the Propoetides when they reject her divinity, Daniel turns a woman whom he perceives as stony in nature for disregarding his amorous advances into a marble funeral monument. In an essay on Shakespeare and Renaissance sculpture, Bruce R. Smith notes that "there is a cold paradox" in the kind of three-dimensional verisimilitude for which representational sculpture allows, "a paradox that is

---

accomplished than before!" (in *Elizabethan Sonnets*, ed. Sidney Lee, 2 vols. [London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1904], 14.13-14).

particularly poignant in tomb sculpture."[26] Like representational sculpture more generally, funeral monuments attempt to cross a border between art and life by recapturing a warm, living essence in chill, inanimate stone. In his account of the masterfully sculpted works of Praxiteles's son in Book 36 of his *Natural History*, for example, Pliny echoes the tale of Pygmalion, who thought that "his fingers made a dint / Upon [his beloved's] flesh," when he remarks: "[A] man that saw [the works of Praxiteles's son] would verely beleeve and say, they dented with their fingers into a bodie of flesh, rather than a statue of marble."[27] Yet the cold stone of a funeral monument, while attempting to sustain communal memory by presenting a portrait of the deceased, necessarily indicates a death in marking the very location where the corpse lies. Daniel draws our attention to this aspect of his monumentalizing verse in sonnet 46:

> Let others sing of Knights and Palladines,
> In aged accents, and vntimely words:
> Paint shadowes in imaginary lines,
> Which well the reach of their high wits records;
> But I must sing of thee and those faire eyes,
> Autentique shall my verse in time to come,
> When yet th'vnborne shall say, loe where she lyes,
> Whose beautie made him speake that els was dombe.
> These are the Arkes the Tropheis I erect,

[26] Bruce R. Smith, "Sermons in Stones: Shakespeare and Renaissance Sculpture," *Shakespeare Studies* 17 (1985): 7.
[27] Pliny the Elder, *The Historie of the World*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1601), 567.

That fortifie thy name against old age,

And these thy sacred vertues must protect,

Against the Darke and times consuming rage.

Though th'error of my youth they shall discouer,

Suffice they shew I liu'd and was thy louer. (*Delia* 46)

Critics have often noted how Daniel sets the sonnet's opening lines against Spenser's archaic diction in *The Faerie Queene*.[28] The poem begins by underscoring the chivalric content of Spenserian epic, but rather than writing of the kinds of heroic exploits that Spenser narrates, Daniel admits that he can take up no other subject than Delia's beauty and the amorous relationships of the sonnet sequence. More important for my purposes here, sonnet 46 also points to its dual status as a poetic object that both confers life and marks the spot where Delia has been put to rest. On the one hand, it declares itself as a textual, poetic space that "fortifie[s]" and "protect[s]" Delia's name, beauty, and "sacred virtues" in verse "in time to come"; on the other, the poem appropriates (in line 7) what Scott L. Newstok has shown to be the most indispensible declarative gesture of the funeral monument: the epitaphic "here lies," or in this case, the phrase "loe where she lyes." A phrase that we would expect to see inscribed on a headstone appears instead within the textual space of the poem, blurring the boundaries between graveyard literature and the amorous lyric.[29] The result is that the poem both points to itself as a

[28] See, for example, Joan Rees, *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1964), 30; Cecil Seronsy, *Samuel Daniel* (New York: Twayne, 1967), 30; Marotti, "*Love* Is Not *Love*," 409-10; and Guy-Bray, "The Achievement of Print," 111-12.

[29] On the epitaphic "here" and the ways in which different kinds of Renaissance texts re-cite it, see Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb*

printed, mobile text while at the same time it imagines itself as marking the spot where Delia's body now rests, as if the poem were an actual funeral monument that those who are yet "vnborne" could not only read but also visit. This tension between textual mobility and lapidary fixity is one to which Daniel will return in the final sonnets of his sequence, but with more trepidation than we find in the concluding lines of sonnet 46. The fact that his poems are easily reproducible surely aids his (future) readers in finding out about "th'error of [his] youth," a phrase that looks back to the opening sonnet of the *Rime sparse*. There, Petrarch tells of his own *primo giovenile errore* (*RS* 1.3) and how falling for a woman who did not reciprocate his love led him into an agitated state of sorrow made visibly public for the general populace to discuss, much to the poet's shame.[30] Daniel's final sonnets will likewise worry about the visibility of his follies as they are made prominent through the sequence's publication; in sonnet 46, though, Daniel understands the poetic text as monumentalizing Delia and making its author famous, as the poem's final line suggests that revealing his love for Delia supersedes the poet's sense that in doing so, he also discloses his youthful error.

In self-consciously proclaiming their intentions to preserve Delia's beauty in verse, moreover, Daniel's sonnets engage in the common early modern practice of erecting a funeral monument to the living. Read this way, Daniel's monumentalizing conceits make all the more prominent what seems to us the cold paradox of sculpted

---

(Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1-32. Daniel uses the interjection "loe" in a manner that is similar to the epitaphic "here," that is, "to direct attention to the presence . . . of something" ("lo, int.[1]," entry 1b, in the *OED*).

[30] Petrarch's lines: "But now I see well how for a long time I was the talk of the crowd, for which often I am ashamed of myself within" (*Ma ben veggio or sì come all popol tutto* / *favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente* / *di me medesmo meco mi vergogno* [*RS* 1.9-11]).

verisimilitude. If funeral monuments attempt in part to recapture a living essence for those wishing to remember what an individual was once like, then the construction of a funeral monument to one who still lives makes it so that Delia's stony entombment comes early and precedes her death. What Delia is to read in Daniel's monumentalizing sonnets is a version of her epitaph, what she is to see an effigy representing what will have become her former beauty, even though she is still in her prime. For Daniel as for most of his contemporaries, however, there is little anxiety about the practice of constructing a funeral monument to the living; indeed, sonnet 46 emphasizes instead his monument's immortalizing power and its capacity to protect Delia against oblivion.[31] His sonnets are "the Arkes the Tropheis [he] erect[s]," the bearers of something sacred and the tokens of victory over time. The metaphors also admit a hint of possessiveness with respect to Delia: in particular, we cannot divorce "Tropheis" from connotations having to do with chivalric prizes, which are very much germane to the poem's engagement with Spenserian epic. In the lone poem in Spenser's *Amoretti* in which he specifically likens his verse to a "moniment," he, too, speaks of it as if it were a trophy signifying his full possession of his "glorious spoil":

> The famous warriors of the anticke world,
> Used Trophees to erect in stately wize:
> in which they would the records have enrold,
> of theyr great deeds and valarous emprize.

[31] On the practice of erecting funeral monuments to the living, to which I will return in more detail in the following chapter on Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, see Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 53-58.

What trophee then shall I most fit devize,
in which I may record the memory
of my loves conquest, peerelesse beauties prise,
adorn'd with honour, love, and chastity?
Even this verse vowd to eternity,
shall be thereof immortall moniment:
and tell her prayse to all posterity,
that may admire such worlds rare wonderment,
The happy purchase of my glorious spoile,
gotten at last with labour and long toyle. (*Amoretti* 69)

For all of Daniel's insistence on the difference between *The Faerie Queene* and his own monumentalizing project, *Delia* 46, like *Amoretti* 69, suggests that one way in which the Petrarchan lover resembles those "famous warriors" of Spenserian epic who claim the spoils of war is in his desire to appropriate his beloved for himself, even if it requires a substitutive form such as the poetic monument to do so.

Whereas Daniel may not be able to coax warmth and tenderness from Delia's cold and stony heart, he does find it within his power to transform her stoniness so that it takes on a form that he finds more acceptable. In sonnet 13, Daniel had no access to the kind of divine intervention that would transform his *donna petrosa* into a warm and loving woman as it did for Pygmalion; instead, he refigures her image internally, on the table of his heart, while his stony beloved retains an unyielding, statuesque form over which he exerts no control. In contrast to those earlier poems in which Delia will not conform her

attitude and her behavior to suit his desires, Daniel's monumentalizing sonnets tend to assert a strong sense of authorial control over the material that he will shape for "after ages," that is, over the poetic language that he uses to sculpt her image for public consumption. Daniel's sense of control comes across most strongly in sonnet 36, a poem in which we can also hear from the margins Delia's voice, which seems to resist his appropriation of her image for posterity:

> O be not grieu'd that these my papers should,
> Bewray vnto the world howe faire thou art:
> Or that my wits haue shew'd the best they could,
> The chastest flame that euer warmed hart.
> Thinke not sweete *Delia,* this shall be thy shame,
> My muse should sound thy praise with mournefull warble:
> How many liue, the glory of whose name,
> Shall rest in yce, when thine is grau'd in Marble.
> Thou maist in after ages liue esteem'd,
> Vnburied in these lines reseru'd in purenes;
> These shall intombe those eyes, that haue redeem'd
> Mee from the vulgar, thee from all obscureness.
> Although my carefull accents neuer mou'd thee;
> Yet count it no disgrace that I haue lou'd thee. (*Delia* 36)

By this point in the sequence, it has become clear that Daniel will never soften the hard heart of his *donna petrosa*, an outcome that he acknowledges in the sonnet's couplet: if

his "carefull accents never mou'd" Delia before, the poem concedes, then there is really no reason to expect a different result in the future. Yet if he could previously only grieve over the unresponsiveness of his *donna petrosa*, he now thinks of Delia as offering a certain warmth and refigures her hardheartedness as adherence to an unblemished and pure virtue—she is "[t]he chastest flame."

Daniel's desire to monumentalize Delia in the latter portion of the sequence thus stems in large part from his previous rhetorical failures; or, as Abbe Blum has remarked in a different context, "the ones who monumentalize have not adequately persuaded those who move them."[32] The emergent presence of monumentalizing conceits marks a corresponding change in the poet-lover's attitude with respect to the kind of work he imagines his verse to accomplish in the face of unfulfilled desire. In sonnet 2, Daniel had charged his "wailing verse" to "Knock at that hard hart, beg till you have moou'd her." In sonnet 36, by contrast, he conceives of his monumentalizing verse as performing a consolatory, compensatory work. In this sense, Daniel's sonnet sequence shares much common ground with funeral elegy. In his reading of that genre's conventions, Peter M. Sacks has noted how the loss of a loved one often leads to "a figurative or aesthetic compensation" for the individual one has lost.[33] In interpreting this compensatory aspect of the genre, Sacks turns to Ovid, and in particular to the Pan-Syrinx and Apollo-Daphne myths, both of which involve male pursuers who are forced to turn away from the women

[32] Abbe Blum, "'Strike all that look upon with mar[b]le': Monumentalizing Women in Shakespeare's Plays," in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*, ed. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1990), 103.
[33] Peter M. Sacks, *The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre from Spenser to Yeats* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985), 5.

whom they chase and subsequently lose and who then reattach their affection to substitutive objects (reed pipes in the case of Pan, a laurel wreath in the case of Apollo):

> Ovid presents a condensed version of this process [of the work of mourning], a metamorphosis in which the lost object seems to enter or become inscribed in the substitute, in this case the found sign or art. Of course only the object *as lost*, and not the object itself, enters into the substitutive sign, and the latter is accepted only by a turning away from the actual identity of what was lost. Consolation thus depends on a trope that remains at an essential remove from what it replaces.[34]

As a genre, the sonnet sequence tends to lament the absence of the living rather than to mourn the death of loved ones.[35] Yet Sack's recourse to the Apollo-Daphne myth to explain the workings of funeral elegy also has clear implications for the sonneteering tradition, given the emphasis it receives in Petrarch's *Rime sparse*. Whereas Sacks reads these myths as instances of successful mourning, the same cannot be said for Petrarch, whose appropriation of the myth makes it so that there is no turning away from the identity of his beloved: there is little (if any) remove between Laura and her substitutive sign, the laurel.[36] A sonnet sequence that wishes to monumentalize the beloved, *Delia* is, like the myths Sacks discusses, similarly predicated on erotic failure and frustration, so

[34] Ibid., 6. For a recent reading of the Apollo-Daphne myth along psychoanalytic lines, see Hardie, *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion*, 45-50.

[35] As G. W. Pigman III emphasizes in his study of the funeral elegy, however, mourning is often regarded "as a reaction to loss in general, not just loss through death" (*Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985], 70).

[36] The terms *Laura* and *lauro* are essentially "autoreflexive," as John Freccero notes; see "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics," in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986), 20-32.

that the grieving poet is left to deflect his desire by substituting the poetic monument as aesthetic compensation for his original and unattainable object of desire. By projecting present losses forward in time, Daniel thus refigures in temporal terms whatever emotional and psychological distance now separates him from Delia. To be sure, such a projection turns his beloved's current unattainability into a future, funereal loss. Yet by imagining Delia after life, Daniel's monumentalizing verse provides the poet with a better coping mechanism for handling her unresponsiveness than the sighs and tears that feature so prominently earlier in the sequence. In this sense, commemoration via the monument projects more than just a desire to defy time; rather, as Blum has remarked, "it arises in part from a desire to possess what lies beyond possession—to render certain and permanent what is unknowable, unavailable, lost."[37] Even if he no longer holds out hope that he can move Delia in the present, the poetic monument allows him to take solace in the boast that he has the power to preserve her in both stone and time, and it gives him artistic autonomy and control in shaping that stone.

Sonnet 36 is marked by other shifts in rhetoric as well, and they, too, stem from the growing confidence that Daniel's monumentalizing project affords him. While his verse will preserve Delia's name for "after ages," it also serves to aggrandize the poet's name. In the only such metrical flourish in the poem, the forceful enjambment of lines 11-12 (including the trochaic inversion with which line 12 begins) underscores the poet's newfound confidence in his verse: Delia's eyes, immortalized in Daniel's sonnet, "have

[37] Blum, "Monumentalizing Women," 99. In this sense there lies behind Daniel's monumentalizing impulse a more complex set of motivations than Hiller and Groves suggest, when they write that "[w]hile Delia remains the 'tyrant' and 'cruel dame' in her treatment of the poet ([*Delia*] 39), he can exercise his powers to preserve her beauty in defiance of the even crueler tyranny of time over *her*" (*Samuel Daniel*, 28).

redeem'd / Mee from the vulgar, thee from all obscureness." These lines even suggest that there exists a degree of reciprocity in their relationship: as his poem venerates Delia's beauty—she will be "reseru'd in pureness"[38]—so will her beauty deliver Daniel from what is merely "vulgar"; as he lifts Delia out of an unstoried obscurity, she elevates his poetry above that of his contemporaries by inspiring Daniel to commemorate her in the emboldened language of his verse. His increased confidence in his immortalizing project thus displaces the wailing and the pleading that constitute his previous responses to Delia's hardheartedness. As a result, he focuses on what he perceives to be her good fortune in being monumentalized and thinks that his verse may even console *her* in her old age, when she is left "grieu[ing] to gaze her in the glas" (30.9).

Of course, reminding Delia of her own withering and eventual death is hardly comforting. If sonnet 30 exhibits the common disingenuousness of the rejected lover who nonetheless wishes to console his aging beloved, Daniel is much more explicit about his monument's retaliatory, guilt-inducing function a few poems later: "Then what my faith hath beene thy selfe shalt see, / And that thou wast vnkinde thou maiest repent" (33.11-12). His attitude in these poems likely provides one of the reasons why, in sonnet 36, we hear Daniel addressing his beloved from a position of newfound authority, an aspect of the poem that implies Delia's resistance to his project. The poem allows us to glean Delia's discomfort from the manner in which the poet imagines himself addressing her objections: "O be not grieu'd that these my papers should, / Bewray vnto the world howe faire thou art" (36.1-2); "Think not sweete *Delia*, this shall be thy shame" (5); "Yet count

[38] The verb "reserve" can mean to set apart or aside, to retain (for future use), to leave unaltered, untouched, intact; see entries 2a, 3a, and 4d-e in the *OED*.

it no disgrace that I haue lou'd thee" (14). Daniel's imagined responses encourage us to hear the poem as a reply to Delia's opposition to the poet's desire to immortalize her in verse; or if he ventriloquizes her opposition in order to offer a response that gives him the sense of having a firm and final say, the poem nonetheless acknowledges that there exists a set of possible objections from the one being monumentalized. As the verb "bewray" suggests, entombment is also a disclosure, a making public to "after ages" of the poet's image of her; or (more severely) entombment exposes the beloved "by divulging [her] secrets, or telling something that [the poet] knows to [her] discredit or harm."[39] Although the poem is unclear about the specific content of the complaint, the terms of Daniel's response suggest that the objections to her monumentalization in verse are strong. Perhaps her grief stems from knowing that she neither makes her own monument nor wishes to have it made, at least not by Daniel; or that she will be fixed in metaphoric stone, for all time and for all to see, with someone she does not love. Or perhaps she is anxious that Daniel will be unable to capture her image accurately and monumentalize her as she would see fit; or even that she will be portrayed at all. After all, although the poem suggests reciprocity, it is Daniel who controls its terms and oversees what will be said about her, how it will be said, and what posterity will see of her. Or perhaps, behind her complaint, we should hear her discomfort with the fact that he plans to construct a funeral monument of her while she still lives, his effigy placing her in a state somewhere between life and death. Reading such a specific set of anxieties into Delia's complaint—into her sense of her own loss—must remain speculative. What *is* clear in sonnet 36 is

[39] "Bewray, v.," entry 2a, in the *OED*.

that Daniel's responses to her objections draw attention to the fact that the consolation afforded by the poetic monument is asymmetrical in privileging the melancholic poet-lover over the beloved: the work of mourning, if it is successful, applies only to the male pursuer and the overcoming of whatever counts as *his* loss.[40] Daniel's response indicates that he will carry on with his monumentalizing project regardless of her complaint, and that he will continue to understand it as conferring immortal life rather than a premature death, as a way to manage the stoniness of his beloved.

One consequence of Daniel's transposition of his present losses forward in time is that it shifts the focus onto posterity's response to his verse. Unlike the statue sculpted by Pygmalion and over which he exhibits an artistic control so powerful as to make him think that it responds to him even before Venus brings it to life, Daniel's poetic monument of his *donna petrosa* mitigates his need for any responsiveness on Delia's part and fixes her image in both stone and time for future audiences. In the couplet to sonnet 30, it is the poetic monument that functions as a kind of Venus figure, and he addresses it not by emphasizing its chillness, but rather its life-giving warmth: "Your firie heate lets not her glorie passe, / But Phenix-like shall make her liue anew" (30.13-14). Yet the kind of life that his sequence becomes increasingly interested in conferring (rather than coaxing) is of an altogether different variety—a secular afterlife, which is also necessarily funerary, rather than a life. Nor does it require any feminine intervention (divine or otherwise) to carry it out. Marina Warner has argued that Ovid's Pygmalion

[40] For more on how in funeral elegy "men's losses are made to seem the ones that count" (5), see Melissa F. Zeiger, *Beyond Consolation: Death, Sexuality, and the Changing Shapes of Elegy* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997), introduction (esp. 3-7 and 11-13); and Louise O. Fradenburg, "'Voice Memorial': Loss and Reparation in Chaucer's Poetry," *Exemplaria* 2 (1990): 169-202.

myth provides a powerful example of how "males can control and own their objects of desire, generated through art," a reading, however, that fails to account for the crucial role that Venus plays in allowing Pygmalion to possess his statue.[41] Although Daniel's monumentalizing verse lacks the originary, foundational force that the Pygmalion myth has for Western art and literature, it nonetheless provides an even better example of the one-way gender dynamics that Warner finds operative in the Pygmalion story. Daniel immortalizes Delia for posterity as he alone sees fit and with no attempt to hide her resistance.

If Daniel's monumentalizing verse taps into Pygmalionic ideas about controlling and possessing the object of desire through art, there is a significant way in which the Renaissance poet can be seen as surpassing what Pygmalion was able to carry out. In the Ovidian myth, the statue's vivification is literal, as Pygmalion sculpts and then finds a way to bring to life his image of an idealized woman for himself, in the present moment and to fulfill his present desires. In contrast, Daniel checks—perhaps feels compelled to check, given Delia's resistance to his advances—his short-term desire to possess his beloved; rather, in these monumentalizing poems, his hope of creating a durable, permanent, funereal work of art supersedes and sublimates that initial desire. Because it crosses the boundary from art to life, the transformation of Pygmalion's statue into flesh and blood necessitates the immediate demise of what was once a work of art as well as

[41] Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), 233. As Stoichita argues, Venus's divine intervention is hardly incidental to the myth; see *The Pygmalion Effect*, 16-20.

the eventual demise of his beloved.[42] Both are necessary consequences of the miracle whereby art metamorphoses into life, ivory turns soft and becomes malleable and thus mutable, like wax under the sun (10.283-86), and the statue-woman blushes at Pygmalion's kisses (10.292-93). By the end of the myth, art has given way to a higher power as Venus turns the simulacrum into a reality and the artist fulfills his desires by kissing real lips (*non falsa* [10.292]). In *Delia*, by contrast, the work of art is made to triumph over time, nature, and female stoniness: Daniel's effigy of Delia shows her former beauty, but its immortalizing claims notwithstanding, it does not revivify her; rather, her image can only *seem* to be alive if it is to retain its status as a work of art and bestow fame and longevity on both the author and his poetic subject.

III: *Daniel's Poetics of Retraction*

The kind of temporal expansiveness implied in Daniel's monumentalizing claims in *Delia* meshes well with claims that he makes later in his poetic career about the future cultural reach of English poetry. In the philosophical dialogue *Musophilus*, first published in 1599, he has the eponymous interlocutor and defender of learning respond to the materialist Philocosmus's skepticism concerning the practical value of poetry by speculating about the future of English verse and its potential contribution to furthering a nascent English empire:

[42] See Jane M. Miller, "Some Versions of Pygmalion," in *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988), 205-14, who writes: "Art is generally used to transform human, transient loveliness into eternal beauty. . . . Yet in the story of Pygmalion the sequence is reversed. The eternal beauty of the statue, once brought to life, must undergo decay and destruction" (213).

And who in time knowes whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
This gaine of our best glorie shal be sent,
T'inrich vnknowing Nations with our stores?
What worlds in th'yet vnformed Occident
May come refin'd with th'accents that are ours? (957-62)

Musophilus's sense of English self-possession and linguistic mastery over other cultures revises an earlier response he makes to Philocosmus, in which he understands English letters as having a narrow though still worthy scope:[43] "I do confesse our limits are but small / Compar'd with all the whole vaste earth beside" (31-32). "But if," Musophilus continues, "we shall descend . . ."

And cast our thoughts but to, and not beyond
This spatious circuit which we tread vpon,
We then may estimate our mightie land
A world within a world standing alone. (537, 539-42)

Musophilus's argument in favor of the cultural value of English thus moves from microcosm—"a world within a world"—to macrocosm and a prospective future time when the eloquence of the English language will shape "th'yet vnformed Occident" with

[43] On *Musophilus* and the expansion of the English language overseas, see Stephen J. Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 16-18.

"th'accents that are ours."[44] And it counters arguments about the barbarism of English poetry by emphasizing its power to refine, enrich, and civilize.

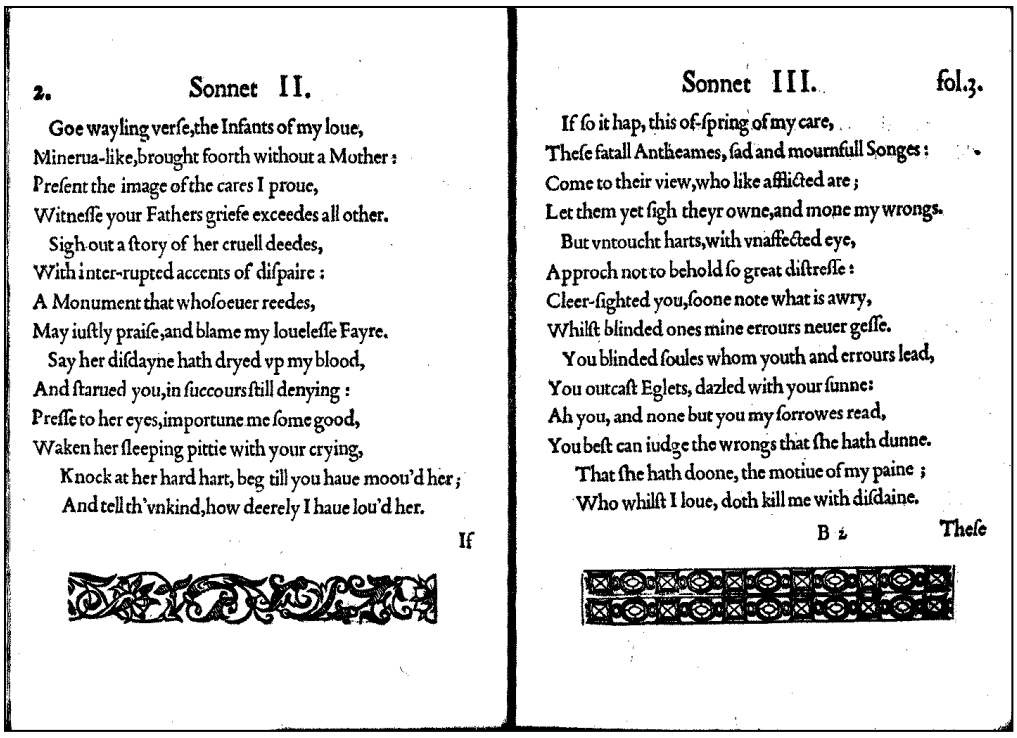
In his poem "To the Reader," which prefaces the *Certaine Smalle Workes* collection of 1607, Daniel foresees his own verse as becoming part of what Musophilus calls "The treasure of our tongue": "I know I shalbe read, among the rest / So long as men speake english" (59-60). For Daniel, English cultural authority is in turn bound up with an increased sense of authorial self-confidence, which is on exhibit not only in the language of his prefatory poem but also, as Wendy Wall has shown, in the paratextual monumentality of his title-pages.[45] With respect to the 1592 edition of *Delia*, the classically-inflected architectural title-page and the ornamental, rectangular borders that frame the base of Daniel's sonnets visually reinforce his claims about the stability, the fixity, and the permanence of his monumentalizing verse (see figs. 1 and 2). While such a paratextual architecture is certainly not unique to the English sonnet sequences of

[44] On Daniel's shifts between microcosm and macrocosm in *Musophilus*, see Raphael Lyne, *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English Metamorphoses, 1567-1632* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), 7-8. On Daniel's historical thought and his sense of England's place within the world of letters, see S. Clark Hulse, "Samuel Daniel: The Poet as Literary Historian" *SEL* 19 (1979): 55-69; Arthur B. Ferguson, "The Historical Thought of Samuel Daniel: A Study in Renaissance Ambivalence," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32 (1971): 185-202; William Blisset, "Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past," *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 38 (1957): 49-63; and Cecil Seronsy, "The Doctrine of Cyclical Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel," *Studies in Philology* 54 (1957): 387-407.

[45] On the paratextual fixity of form in the different editions of Daniel's *Delia*, see Wendy Wall, *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993), 70-79. As Wall notes, the sequence's monumental quality only continued to grow from the first publication of *Delia* in 1592 to its inclusion within larger *Works* editions of Daniel's verse in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Over the course of the sonnet sequence's publication history, the ever-evolving design of the title-pages shifts our focus from Delia as poetic subject to Daniel as author.

Fig. 1. The title-page to Daniel's *Delia* (1592)

the 1590s, Daniel sets himself apart from most of his sonneteering contemporaries in how he has his media interact. *Delia* is the only sequence that combines the thematization of monumentality in the poems themselves with such an architecture, as both verse and paratext "shall intombe those eyes" of his beloved for all posterity to see (36.11). If Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* concentrates on the metaphoric slippage between the poetic text and the architectural ruin of antiquity and thus the vulnerability of English verse to time, Daniel's poetic art relies on the seeming durability of stone to affirm its lasting power. In general, Daniel does not create sonnets that he claims will outlast stone, and only once, in sonnet 37, does he use the ruins of antiquity as a counterpoint to the



2. Sonnet II.

Goe wayling verſe, the Infants of my loue,
Minerua-like, brought foorth without a Mother:
Preſent the image of the cares I proue,
Witneſſe your Fathers griefe exceedes all other.
Sigh out a ſtory of her cruell deedes,
With inter-rupted accents of diſpaire:
A Monument that whoſoeuer reedes,
May iuſtly praiſe, and blame my loueleſſe Fayre.
Say her diſdayne hath dryed vp my blood,
And ſtarued you, in ſuccours ſtill denying:
Preſſe to her eyes, importune me ſome good,
Waken her ſleeping pittie with your crying,
Knock at her hard hart, beg till you haue moou'd her;
And tell th'vnkind, how deerely I haue lou'd her.

If

Sonnet III. fol. 3.

If ſo it hap, this of-ſpring of my care,
Theſe fatall Antheames, ſad and mournfull Songes:
Come to their view, who like afflicted are;
Let them yet ſigh theyr owne, and mone my wrongs.
But vntoucht harts, with vnaffected eye,
Approch not to behold ſo great diſtreſſe:
Cleer-ſighted you, ſoone note what is awry,
Whilſt blinded ones mine errours neuer geſſe.
You blinded ſoules whom youth and errours lead,
You outcaſt Eglets, dazled with your ſunne:
Ah you, and none but you my ſorrowes read,
You beſt can iudge the wrongs that ſhe hath dunne.
That ſhe hath doone, the motiue of my paine;
Who whilſt I loue, doth kill me with diſdaine.

B 2 Theſe

Fig. 2. The bordering to Daniel's sonnets in *Delia* (1592)

enduring quality of his verse:

> *Delia* these eyes that so admireth thine,
> Haue seen those walles the which ambition reared,
> To checke the world, how they intombd haue lyen
> Within themselues; and on them ploughes haue eared. (37.1-4)

Acknowledging the impossibility of recuperating the architecture of antiquity, Daniel draws a parallel between his sense of historical and cultural loss and the anticipated personal loss of his beloved. He counterbalances these losses, however, by taking solace in the enduring quality of the written monument. Just as the classical poets preserve those "vertuous men" whose "glorious actions luckely had gainde, / Th'eternall Annals of a

happie pen" (37.5-6), so too Daniel's monumentalizing sonnets claim the power to "assommon" Delia's youthful "grace" and "vertue" "vnto eternitie" (37.13-14).

Nevertheless, Daniel ends *Delia* by tempering the visual authority of his monumental imagery and his paratextual architecture, as the final three poems of the sequence pull back from the kind of bold monumentalizing claims that the poet had made just a few poems earlier. Sonnet 48 begins, "None other fame myne vnambitious Muse, / Affected euer but t'eternize thee" (48.1-2), lines that suggest a more ambivalent attitude towards his project than we have seen for a while, since his desire to eternize Delia in verse would seem precisely to require poetic ambition. The poem reiterates that he will keep from writing about the same things that his contemporaries do, that he will neither cheapen his poems by writing "mercynary lines" nor lower its standing by "Praising vertues in them that haue them not, / Basely attending on the hopes of men" (48.6-8). Rather, he will continue to detail his love for Delia by creating an enduring monument that nonetheless documents the frustrations involved in his failure to win her over. His admission that he will continue to write amatory verse, however, also leads him to diminish the expected scope of his readership and to contract the geographical and (presumably) the temporal reach of his poems:

> No no my verse respects not Thames nor Theaters,
> Nor seekes it to be knowne vnto the Great:
> But *Auon* rich in fame, though poore in waters,
> Shall haue my song, where *Delia* hath her seate.
> *Auon* shall be my Thames, and she my Song;

Ile sound her name the Ryuer all along. (48.9-14)

Whereas *Musophilus* advances from microcosm to macrocosm, the conclusion to *Delia* reverses that movement. As Guy-Bray has noted, there is a more provincial, even pastoral quality to sonnet 48, as Daniel anticipates retreating from London—with all of the attendant opportunities the metropolis affords for commencing a poetic career and achieving renown—to the countryside, as well as a corresponding retreat from the public world of a monumental verse created to be read by posterity to the more private sphere of the love lyric, where the poet claims to keep to himself and withdraw from the public sphere: "Ile mone my selfe, and hide the wrong I haue" (49.10).[46] Like sonnet 2 ("Goe wailing verse, the infants of my love"), sonnet 49 imagines itself as speech, except that now it is a consolatory speech meant not for Delia, who "scornes" "The sacrifice I offer to her sight," but for the poet alone: "Each byrd sings t'herselfe, and so will I" (49.9, 8, 14). While lyric poems were often thought of as ephemeral even within the context of a burgeoning print culture, Daniel's sonnets often conceive of themselves (powerfully so) as fixed, durable, long-lasting monuments—as stone-like.[47] Yet here, at the end of his

[46] In "The Achievement of Print," Guy-Bray casts Daniel's retreat as one from the public world of print to the more private sphere of manuscript circulation, writing: "Publication is intended to fix a manuscript in a form in which it can be transmitted from the private world of the poet to the public world of the literary marketplace; here, the reverse happens, and the published work reverts to its private form" (113). In particular, he focuses on the fact that Daniel addresses his poems as his "papers" (48.5): "Vnhappy pen and ill accepted papers, / That intimate in vaine my chaste desiers" (49.1-2). That Daniel calls his poems his "ill accepted papers," however, does not mean that they necessarily exist in a manuscript rather than a printed form; sonnet 36, for example, in which he imagines Delia's name "grau'd in Marble," begins similarly: "O be not grieu'd that these my papers should, / Bewray vnto the world howe faire thou art."

[47] See Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995), who writes: "Although we associate print with the preservation of texts that, if confined to the system of manuscript transmission, faced the danger of being lost, it is important to recognize that many printed works were conceived of or treated as ephemeral. Especially when published in short octavos and quartos, poetry anthologies and small editions of individual authors had small chance of surviving given how they were treated by contemporary readers. . . . The treatment of lyric poems as ephemera,

sequence, Daniel resists that monumentalizing impulse and seems to long for his poems' ephemerality for what they say of his failures in love.

Focusing on Daniel's incessant emendations of *all* his works throughout his poetic career, Guy-Bray suspects that part of the reason why Daniel reverts to thinking of the poems of *Delia* as private rather than public stems from "a desire to resist the fetish of the finished product upon which the publishing industry is based."[48] I find Guy-Bray's comment suggestive for how we understand the poetic monuments with which *Delia* is so concerned, for there lies an incommensurability at the heart of Daniel's project, that is, between the finished, fixed, and definitive monument and the uncompleted sonnets that Daniel is always in the process of revising, reconstructing, and altering—yet never quite finishing. There is an incommensurability as well between the public nature of both the printed text and the funeral monument, the latter of which we tend to associate with public poetic genres such as the funeral elegy and the ode, and the more private confines of the amorous lyric. Although sonnets are less tied to a communal scene of mourning and a specifically public occasion and thus more grounded in the personal, private world of the poet than the funeral elegy, funerals themselves, as Matthew Greenfield explains, began retreating from the public sphere toward the end of the sixteenth century, becoming "less formally rigid, less socially inclusive, and more focused on the unique

---

encouraged by circumstances of their original production and reception as well as by their transmission in loose papers by writers who did not necessarily even keep copies of what they had written, carried over into the cultural situation of printed texts as well" (227).

[48] Guy-Bray, "'The Achievement of Print,'" 101. On Daniel and emendation, see also John Pitcher, "Essays, Works and Small Poems: Divulging, Publishing and Augmenting the Elizabethan Poet, Samuel Daniel," in *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*, ed. Andrew Murphy (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000), 8-29 (esp. 17-18); and Edwin H. Miller, "Samuel Daniel's Revisions in *Delia*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 53 (1954): 58-68.

identities of those who died."[49] The increasing privatization of the funeral marks a shift that the funeral elegy, as one of the primary means for commemorating the dead, mirrors by withdrawing from its more public obligations to concentrate not on the unique identity of the recently deceased but rather on the personal anxieties of the author writing the poem.[50] What this suggests is that the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century funeral elegy and the monuments that it erects for the dead begin to retreat into the more private world of the lyric, a space where frustration tends to recoil inward, where the emotional dynamic is restricted to whatever (usually limited) interactions the courting poet may have had with his beloved, and where contemplation about loss tends to be self-reflexive.

Yet turning the amorous lyric into a poetic monument also makes the poet's ostensibly personal, private failures and frustrations public. Attributing such a monumental status to the English lyric gives it a status that emerges powerfully only in the later sixteenth century, in the poetry of Spenser and Daniel, Shakespeare and Donne. We can read Daniel's sonnet sequence as wrestling with two competing claims one could make about the genre in the period, for it sets the private, ephemeral nature of the amorous lyric against lyric's newfound status as an enduring monument left to posterity. That Daniel reverts from thinking of his poems as having a stone-like fixity, a finished product conceived of as a public monument meant to be transmitted to a future

[49] Matthew Greenfield, "The Cultural Functions of Renaissance Elegy," *English Literary Renaissance* 28 (1998): 85.

[50] Greenfield finds this shift in attitude and convention most noticeable in John Donne's "Anniversaries" on the death of the adolescent Elizabeth Drury: "Writing about the death of a stranger, Donne found himself obsessively imagining his own death. In these poems elegy pulls hard against its connection to funeral ritual and to the consolation of a group of mourners" ("The Cultural Functions," 86).

readership, suggests that he wavers on his earlier presupposition that future audiences will receive his sonnets with the requisite approval required to keep Delia's name alive ("They will remaine, and so thou canst not dye" [34.14]). In sonnet 49, by contrast, Daniel calls his poems "ill accepted." But by whom? Against all hope of moving her, the final poem of his sequence again imagines Delia as the sole recipient of his verse: "These tributary plaintes fraught with desire, / I sende those eyes the cabinets of loue" (50.5-6). Yet while the immediate reference in sonnet 49 is almost certainly to Delia, Daniel, who has by this point in the sequence spent a great deal of time thinking of his poems as public monuments, must also be showing some concern about their future reception.

This uneasy sentiment about his poems' reception is one that Daniel will reiterate in the obscure final lines of his sequence: "This is my state, and *Delias* hart is such; / I say no more, I feare I saide too much" (50.13-14). Here, his beloved's hard heart makes one last intrusion into the sequence. Even after substituting a new version of her stoniness—the poetic monument as authored by Daniel himself—to replace the stoniness of his *donna petrosa*, he is never quite able to get past the effect her hardheartedness has had on him. If in sonnet 36 the insecurity about revealing to all posterity what is ostensibly secret and private is Delia's alone, then in sonnet 50, it lies at the center of the authority implied in the act of monumentalization. In his fear that he has said too much, Daniel implies a desire not just to emend or revise his verse but to retract what is—in the metaphorics of the monumental—definitive, complete, permanent, and public. In his poem "To the Reader," Daniel echoes the sentiment that he expresses at the end of *Delia*. "And would to God," he writes (83):

[I] might revers

The errors of my judgme[n]t passed here

Or els where, in my bookes, and vnrehearce

What I haue vainely said . . .

……

Which I do hope to liue yet to retract

And craue that England neuer wil take note

That it was mine. (86-89, 91-93)

Wishing to have the final say in "disavow[ing]" what was vainly said and returning it to obscurity so that "it may for euer be forgot" (93-94), Daniel also claims the right to make it private: the final line of the poem asks of his English audience "onely to haue [it] in mine own again" (98). The line about Daniel's "errors of . . . judgme[n]t" also glances back to sonnet 46, which indicates the moment when Daniel begins to worry that his audience will find out about "th'error of [his] youth"—his hopeless love for a hardhearted beloved—and it marks the point at which he becomes wary about the scope of his monumentalizing project. Notwithstanding the "*FINIS.*" that appears immediately after the final sonnet, the borderline retraction of sonnet 50's final line suggests the sequence's radical ambiguity with respect to Daniel's attitude towards what he has recorded. By the final lines of the sequence, it is as if the documentation of his youthful error has only compounded it. That Daniel here feels compelled to make one final reference to Delia's stoniness only makes public that consolation through aesthetic compensation has failed. Perhaps one further way to understand Daniel's retraction is to

see the poet as caught between wanting to exert some control over the form that Delia's stoniness will take and worrying over what assuming such a control entails. If monumentalizing his beloved in the metaphoric marble of his verse—"The sad memorials of [his] loues despaire" (9.4)—represents the fixed and finished record of his pursuit of Delia, then it also precludes the possibility of her ever warming to him.

Chapter 4

Shakespeare's Tombs for the Living:

Poetic Rivalry and the Imagined Reception of the Sonnets

> Beside, to preserve the living and make the dead to live, to keep men out of their urns and discourse of human fragments in them is not impertinent to our profession, whose study is life and death[.]
>
> -Thomas Browne, *Urne-Buriall*

> I am thinking of aurochs and angels, the secret of durable pigments, prophetic sonnets, the refuge of art.
>
> -Vladimir Nabokov, *Lolita*

At the outset of his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), John Weever writes, "Now aboue all remembrances . . . for worthinesse and continuance, books, or writings, haue euer had the preheminence."[1] The bulk of his massive tome aims at preserving in print the epitaphic inscriptions of those stone funeral monuments that had survived the iconoclasm of the English Reformation, as well as those newly created since the surge in

[1] John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (facsimile rpt.) (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1979), 1. Further citations of Weever appear in the text and refer to page number.

funeral monument construction began in the 1570s.[2] It is also remarkable for providing a virtual compendium of passages from the Latin classics, from Horace and Ovid to Martial, Lucan, and Propertius, all of whom write in favor of the greater durability of the written, materially repeatable text. These passages serve as justification for the necessity of Weever's preservational, print-based project, whose end product, he feels confident, will outlast the stone funeral monuments whose epitaphs he records. Weever furthermore cites extensively from English poets who write verse in the vein of Horace's ode: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* ("I have finished a monument more lasting than bronze").[3] Although he takes the majority of his examples from Samuel Daniel, Michael Drayton, and especially Edmund Spenser, he could just as easily have turned to Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1609), and in particular to the opening lines of sonnet 55: "Not marble nor the gilded monuments / Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme."[4]

[2] As Peter Sherlock notes, after the first big wave of iconoclasm and the dissolution of the monasteries in the mid sixteenth century, tomb patronage "increased again from the 1570s, peaking in the early seventeenth century before another brief drop in the 1640s" (*Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008], 10).

[3] Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. Niall Rudd (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004), *Odes* 3.30.1. Further citations of Horace's ode appear in the text and refer to book, poem, and line number.

[4] *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Stephen Booth (New Haven: Yale UP, 1977), 55.1-2. Further citations of the *Sonnets* appear in the text and refer to poem and line number. Weever's opening chapter presents in full sonnet 3 from Spenser's *Ruines of Rome* ("Thou stranger") and passages from *The Ruines of Time* (ll. 36-42 and 400-13) in order to detail the fate that eventually befalls "magnificent strong buildings" (4). A. Kent Hieatt has argued that Shakespeare's "references . . . to stone structures affected by age—the unswept stone, the overturned statues, and the uprooted masonry—relate to what amounts to a massive, shared subtheme" between the *Sonnets* and the *Ruines of Rome* ("The Genesis of Shakespeare's Sonnets: Spenser's *Ruines of Rome: by Bellay*," *PMLA* 98 [1983]: 807). As E. A. J. Honigmann points out, the fact that Weever never once cites or mentions Shakespeare in *Ancient Funerall Monuments* is somewhat puzzling given his apparent familiarity with Shakespeare's poetic and dramatic works. Weever wrote the first known poem in praise of Shakespeare as part of his 1599 *Epigrammes* (4.22) and seems to have been the first to transcribe the epitaph on Shakespeare's tomb in Stratford-upon-Avon; see *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1987), 70-71, 78, and 90-92.

Yet while Shakespeare is often willing to grant the poetic monument's greater lasting power in the rivalry between sculpted stone and poetic text, he is far more conflicted about the early modern practice of erecting funeral monuments to the living. The practice is one in which his own sonnets participate by self-consciously proclaiming their intentions to monumentalize his beloved fair youth in verse, and nowhere is Shakespeare's disquiet about this practice more apparent than in the rival-poet group (sonnets 78-86). With its dense cluster of tomb imagery, the group presents a particularly compelling site from which to study the hopes and the anxieties that lie behind Shakespeare's monumentalizing claims. Often read from a new historicist perspective, the group presents what Arthur Marotti has called "the most serious crisis of the collection," for it "strikes at the heart of a friendship in which affectionate love and beneficent patronage are inextricably mixed."[5] The "fair assistance" (78.2) provided by the fair youth—both his monetary support and his beauty that stirs poets to higher poetic feats—was once Shakespeare's alone: "Whilst I alone did call upon thy aid, / My verse alone had all thy gentle grace" (79.1-2). Now, Shakespeare complains, "every alien pen hath got my use, / And under thee their poesy disperse" (78.3-4).

It is specifically within this context of poetic rivalry that we find sonnet 81, a poem that makes one of the sequence's boldest claims about the immortalizing power of Shakespeare's monumental verse. On the one hand, I argue that Shakespeare's rivalries with his contemporaries are crucial to our understanding of why he orients his verse so vigorously towards the distant future. By erecting a funeral monument to his living

[5] Arthur Marotti, "'*Love* Is Not *Love*': Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order," *ELH* 49 (1982): 411-12.

beloved, Shakespeare seizes upon the liminal moment of the youth's imagined death and fixes his grace and beauty in metaphoric marble for posterity. In addition to improving the future lot of the youth, however, Shakespeare also attempts to advance his own: his funeral monument to the youth allows the poet to see himself as having wrested from his would-be poetic rival the power to enact a continuous, undying celebration of the youth's being and to rewrite the present antagonisms in his relationships with both the youth and the rival poet.[6] On the other hand, by erecting a funeral monument for one who is still in the prime of his life, Shakespeare's monumentalizing verse creates a new, premature sense of loss. As Nigel Llewellyn writes, "[t]o the modern sensibility, . . . it seems curious or even macabre to have had carved and erected before one's death a monumental effigy designed to replicate or replace the natural body displayed on the funeral bier, but in early modern England it was common practice."[7] Llewellyn remarks that tomb patrons who had their effigies sculpted before their death and who often attended church services would have confronted their own image in stone or brass on a regular basis, perhaps for many years. The commonness of the practice among England's elite in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries does not even make it particularly noteworthy: "[i]f there were any

[6] Pierre Nora writes that "the fundamental purpose of a *lieu de mémoire* ['site of memory'] is to stop time, to inhibit forgetting, to fix a state of things, to immortalize death, and to materialize the immaterial," though he also points out that "*lieux de mémoire* thrive only because of their capacity for change, their ability to resurrect old meanings and generate new ones along with new and unforeseeable connections" ("General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. A Goldhammer, ed. L. B. Kritzman, 3 vols. [New York: Columbia UP, 1996-98], 1.15). Although Nora's work has been applied almost exclusively to post-Enlightenment contexts, Sherlock makes a compelling argument for its usefulness to a study of early modern funeral monuments as sites of memory; see *Monuments and Memory*, 5-6.

[7] Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 55.

qualms about such vivid juxtaposition of the living and the effigial," Llewellyn writes, "they go unrecorded."[8]

I argue that Shakespeare's *Sonnets* records just the qualm Llewellyn implies is missing—and thus seemingly unfelt—in the period. In sonnet 55, Shakespeare contrasts the durability of different media in order to make a claim for the poetic monument's preeminence as a commemorative work of art, and in sonnet 81, he embraces the immortalizing, life-giving power of his "gentle verse" (81.9). Yet elsewhere in the *Sonnets*, his tomb imagery reveals a disconcerting ambivalence in the way funeral monuments erected to the living could signify in Renaissance England, though one not often recognized as such in the period. If Shakespeare at times imagines an uncomplicated transference of his memorial image of the fair youth into the future, his verse preserving the most precious remnant of his own Renaissance world so that posterity may likewise marvel at it, then he is also quite conscious that the tomb as a figure for poetry both hastily substitutes and inadequately compensates for the youth's living grace and beauty. As a funeral monument constructed to the living beloved, Shakespeare's verse becomes a sign "that carries in itself a reminder," *not* "of the loss on which it has been founded," but of the loss that it newly generates in attempting to portray the youth's still extant beauty and fix it in both stone and time.[9] Rather than

[8] Ibid., 57.

[9] Peter M. Sacks, *The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre from Spenser to Yeats* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985), 5. While Shakespeare's *Sonnets* have typically been noted for their epigrammatic rather than their elegiac qualities, this has begun to change in the wake of Joel Fineman's enormously influential *Shakespeare's Perjured Eye: The Invention of Poetic Subjectivity in the* Sonnets (Berkeley: University of California, 1986). In particular, Fineman notes that the "many references to praise [in the sonnets to the fair youth] are often colored by an elegiac mood that would be more appropriate for a funeral remembrance of things past than for a celebration of things current" (50). By suggesting that these

simply responding to the death of a loved one, as do funeral elegy and those effigies erected after the deaths of those they portray, Shakespeare's monumentalizing sonnets hasten it by racing incessantly ahead in time, projecting forward to a future world that will be without the youth as he once was in his prime.[10] While Shakespeare's uneasiness about his monumentalizing project stems broadly from the uncertain prospects for transmitting texts and images from one age to another, then, it results more directly from the sonnet sequence as a unique genre in which to play out those uncertainties. His sonnets to the youth provide a site not only of praise and hopeful anticipation that the beloved's image will survive but also of erotic failure and frustration, loss and betrayal, so that Shakespeare's obsession with immortalizing his living beloved in the funeral monument of verse prematurely anticipates the youth's death.

I: *Poetic Inheritance and the Rival Poet*

As scholars have long noted, for each of Shakespeare's sonnets to his beloved young man that asserts the preeminence of poetry over stone, there is another that reveals a skepticism in its lasting power.[11] Gordon Braden has even suggested that Shakespeare's

---

sonnets amount to "an ensemble or constellation of epideictic themes and images that make the visual and the visible into a medium or instrument of loss," Fineman spells out "what is too often forgotten: namely, the peculiar pathos attaching both to the young man sonnets and to the young man's poet" (158-59). On the epigrammatic quality of the *Sonnets*, see in particular Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), 69-75.

[10] In this, Shakespeare's sonnets to the youth adopt an elegiac tone in their orientation not towards the past but towards the future past, where emphasis falls on memorial recollection for what will have been lost; on English Renaissance writers' fascination with future retrospection and what she calls "anticipatory nostalgia," see J. K. Barret's forthcoming book, "The Poetics of Futurity in Renaissance England."

[11] For a full-length treatment of monuments in the *Sonnets*, see Jonathan Hart, "Conflicting Monuments: Time, Beyond Time, and the Poetics of Shakespeare's Dramatic and Nondramatic Sonnets," in *In the*

assertions about poetry's enduring quality tend to work in reverse: though "[c]laims of poetry's immortalizing power are woven deeply into the fabric of the young man poems," he "will never again be as forceful on the subject as he is in [s]onnet 55."[12] In sonnet 63, for example, Shakespeare desires to preserve the youth "in these black lines," a phrase that ironically draws us back to the "lines and wrinkles" that show the youth's aging (63.13, 4); and in sonnet 65, his fear of a truly unmitigated loss swells to such a degree that any preservation of "time's best jewel" in "black ink" would constitute nothing short of a "miracle" (65.10, 13-14). Still, Shakespeare persists in making brash proclamations about the lasting power of his verse: "And thou in this shalt find thy monument, / When tyrant's crests and tombs of brass are spent" (107.13-14). Sonnet 81 is no less assertive than sonnets 55 and 107. What is more, its position in the middle of the rival-poet group reveals that behind Shakespeare's variegated treatment of funeral monuments, there lies a complex rhetoric of motives:

> Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
> Or you survive when I in earth am rotten,
> From hence your memory death cannot take,
> Although in me each part will be forgotten.
> Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
> Though I, once gone, to all the world must die.
> The earth can yield me but a common grave,

Company of Shakespeare: Essays in English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans, ed. Thomas Moisan and Douglas Bruster (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2002), 177-205.

[12] Gordon Braden, "Ovid, Petrarch, and Shakespeare's *Sonnets*," in *Shakespeare's Ovid: The* Metamorphoses *in the Plays and Poems*, ed. A. B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 108.

When you entombèd in men's eyes shall lie.

Your monument shall be my gentle verse,

Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read,

And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,

When all the breathers of this world are dead,

You still shall live—such virtue hath my pen—

Where breath most breathes, ev'n in the mouths of men. (81)

Unlike the other poems in the group, sonnet 81 makes no explicit mention of a rival. Still, we cannot fully extricate the sonnet's monumentalizing assertions from the complaints and the criticisms, the accusations and the threats, that characterize the poems surrounding it. Whether or not Shakespeare intended to position it here in the 1609 quarto's ordering of the poems, we can nonetheless ask what it means that such a poem is embedded within the group.[13] What is its function within the context of rivalry among poets?

At the very least, we can say that Shakespeare promises the fair youth immortality as a rhetorical ploy to win him back from his rival. For Marotti, Shakespeare goes one step further. By using the conceit to invert social hierarchies and disrupt the power dynamics of the relationship between poet and patron, the poet wields the monument of

[13] For two different views on whether or not Shakespeare may have authorized the publication of the 1609 quarto, see Katherine Duncan-Jones, "Was the 1609 *Shake-speares Sonnets* Really Unauthorized?" *Review of English Studies* 34 (1983): 151-71; and Heather Dubrow, "'Incertainties now crown themselves assur'd': The Politics of Plotting Shakespeare's Sonnets," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47 (1996): 291-305.

verse as a way of exacting "a kind of revenge" after such "terrible rejection."[14] Shakespeare underscores the inversion by giving it a clear formal counterpart in the sonnet's structure. In the octave, he sets up a hierarchy differentiating poet and patron by referring to two very different sorts of burial. As Weever indicates: "Sepulchres should bee made according to the qualitie and degree of the person deceased, that by the Tombe euery one might bee discerned of what ranke hee was liuing" (10).[15] Accordingly, Shakespeare imagines his own unexceptional death, his body rotting in the earth in an unmarked, "common grave" and his name forgotten by future generations. Such a burial sits in stark contrast to the funeral monument that both commemorates the youth by giving his name "immortal life" and calls attention to his aristocratic status.[16]

---

[14] Marotti, "Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences," 412. Marotti does not mention sonnet 81 specifically, but he clearly has in mind the contrast and subsequent inversion of social distinctions that Shakespeare sets up in referring to two very different sorts of burial for poet and patron.

[15] In *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991), Joshua Scodel notes that in early modern England, "[t]he placement of tombs reinforced their social significance": whereas "the most distinguished members of the community" were prominently housed in either the church's chancel or in family chapels, "[t]he lowest members of the social hierarchy, by contrast, were buried in unmarked graves in the churchyard" (17). On monuments, interment, and the social order, see David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997), 460-75, who notes that "[p]remium placement, with appropriate memorial masonry, would demonstrate to posterity the position one held in this world. . . . [B]urial in these privileged places [i.e., in a church, especially in the chancel and near the altar] was one of the ways the Tudor and Stuart élite defined themselves, apart from the common herd in the churchyard outside" (461, 463).

[16] In his commentary to sonnet 81, Booth writes: Shakespeare's "allusion here [i.e., in line 8] is to one of two kinds of monuments erected over the graves of important persons: one, a brass plate with the lifesized portrait of the deceased incised upon it, lies flat at floor level to mark the grave of a notable person buried under a church aisle; the other is an elaborate box-like stone tomb with a lifesized figure of the deceased cut in high relief lying flat on the top, as on a bed or bier" (*Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 277). There was, however, far more variation in the form and design of funeral monuments in Shakespeare's time than Booth's note indicates. Sherlock writes that "[t]heir form might range from modest plaques or ledgerstones set into the [church] pavement and bearing nothing more than a short inscription, through to towering free-standing edifices displaying a range of architectural and figurative decoration, covered in elaborate epitaphs and hung with heraldic shields" (*Monuments and Memory*, 10). For more on the variation in form and design of early modern funeral monuments, see Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 60-145; and Brian Kemp, *English Church Monuments* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1980), 58-88 (esp. 72-84).

Shakespeare's self-assured, self-assertive boldness at the sonnet's turn—"Your monument shall be my gentle verse"—thus comes as something of a surprise. An expression carrying overtones of nobility, Shakespeare's "gentle verse" counters the earlier emphasis he places on his own "common" status. Rather than reverting to the "strainèd touches" of rhetoric to praise the youth (82.10), Shakespeare, through the "virtue" of his pen, assumes a moral authority and an aesthetic control lacking in his rival and declares his power to secure the youth's very "being" in the monument of verse.

I wish to shift the stress, however, away from thinking that Shakespeare's motivation for employing the monumentalizing conceit in sonnet 81 stems from a desire to settle scores with the fair youth. While I agree that Shakespeare's poem ruffles social norms, Marotti's emphasis on the conceit as an instrument of retaliation overstates the case. To be sure, the youth's behavior in the rival-poet group upsets and offends Shakespeare, and it is easy to see how exacting retribution may look attractive to him (in later poems, he will do so overtly). Yet Shakespeare's recourse to monumental imagery has more to do with a desire to transpose the strife stemming from the competition for the fair youth's intimacy and material reward into a struggle for a future poetic inheritance. In his study of the English funeral elegy, a genre that regularly thematizes just the kind of struggle between poets that we find in the rival-poet group, Peter M. Sacks notes how "the issue of poetic inheritance" plays out as a demonstration of a closer, more intimate proximity to the dead than any poetic rival can show.[17] Although sonnet sequences tend to lament the absence of the living rather than the dead, we need not let this important

[17] Sacks, *The English Elegy*, 37.

generic difference conceal the fact that the struggle to create a poetic inheritance and demonstrate an intimate proximity to the (imagined) dead informs the rival-poet group of sonnets as well. Indeed, one of Shakespeare's initial strategies for persuading the youth to renounce the rival and once again give both his love and his patronage to him involves showing the youth just how closely he is bound to Shakespeare's verse. As he tells us in the group's opening poem, it is the youth who functions as the poet's muse and who is thus responsible for the very generation of his verse, as of a child: "Yet be most proud of that which I compile," Shakespeare implores the youth, "Whose influence is thine, and born of thee" (78.9-10). It is as if Shakespeare imagines that his verse were a kind of first-born descendant, and that he alone should be the beneficiary of the youth's reward.[18] As for those poems in praise of the youth written by the "alien pen" of the rival poet, he addresses the youth, "thou dost but mend the style" (78.11).

Although the octave of sonnet 81 plays up the social differences between poet and patron, lover and beloved, Shakespeare subtly inscribes proximity and even reciprocity into the poem's sestet. Whether wittingly or not, the youth bestows something of his aristocratic status onto the poem, imparting to Shakespeare's verse its "gentle" nature, while Shakespeare, as the would-be author of "your epitaph" and the self-proclaimed author of "your monument," promises to record "your memory," "your name," and even "your being" in his verse. Whereas the poem may be seen as confusing and/or inverting social hierarchies insofar as Shakespeare claims a "gentle" status for his verse, it gains this status only insofar as his verse is "born of" the youth. In turn, Shakespeare uses this

[18] On early modern ideas of inheritance, and the rule of primogeniture in particular, see Ralph A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (London: Longman, 1984), 228-52.

proximity to establish a new model of lineage, one that moves from poetic subject to poet, poem, and a future readership rather than from father to son, as in the procreation group with which the sequence opens (sonnets 1-17).[19] By erecting a long-lasting monument to the youth long before his death, Shakespeare beats his rival to the punch, bypasses the youth's present desire to have another write of him, and establishes the vehicle "whereby the legacy [of the dead] may be seen to have entered a new successor."[20] Absent an actual son, the youth can preserve his essential being only in the funeral monument of Shakespeare's gentle verse, while Shakespeare's textual future depends on having the youth's living presence to write about and encode in verse.

Shakespeare thus substitutes a proximity in death for the proximity the youth no longer grants to him in the present. Nonetheless, the poem focuses throughout on life even in death, as it turns an ostensible loss into a triumphant gain. It also projects a much longer temporal view than simply wresting back patronage from a rival in the here and now or winning the struggle for poetic inheritance in the immediate aftermath of the youth's imagined death. While Horace and Ovid sit loosely behind all of Shakespeare's monumentalizing claims, sonnet 81 is never so specific about the potential shelf-life of his verse as either of his classical predecessors. Horace acknowledges that the Roman empire may one day come to an end, and with it posterity's praise for his verse, which will last only so "long as the priest climbs the Capitol with the silent virgin" (*usque ego*

[19] As Michael C. Clody suggests (in "Shakespeare's 'Alien Pen': Self-Substantial Poetics in the Young Man Sonnets**,"** *Criticism* 50 [2008]: 471-500), the rival-poet group picks up on themes that begin to emerge towards the end of the procreation group, namely, that in being "born of" the youth (78.10), Shakespeare's *Sonnets* "relate themselves to a negative origin: they are grounded *not* in an actual child, but in a refusal that motivates the procreative *force*" (476).

[20] Sacks, *The English Elegy*, 37.

postera / *crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium* / *scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex* [*Odes* 3.30.7-9]). Ovid, too, qualifies his claim to undying fame, writing: "For look how far so ever / The Roman empire by the right of conquest shall extend, / So far shall all folk read this work" (*quaque patet domitis Romana potenta terries,* / *ore legar populi*).[21] In contrast, Shakespeare's poem is far more open-ended with regard to how far out into the future it projects, a view exemplified most clearly, I think, in lines 11-12: "And tongues to be your being shall rehearse, / When all the breathers of this world are dead." In a sonnet where monuments, tombs, and graves feature centrally, the verb "rehearse" activates a secondary sense in which future readers will re-inhearse or re-entomb the youth by repeating Shakespeare's verse about him; they bury the youth yet again, which is precisely, if also counterintuitively, to continue to give him life.[22] Rather than a harsh reminder of death, the poet's monument in which the youth "still shall live" functions above all as a hopeful memorial of their shared life together. Shifting the stress away from the life-death contrasts set up in the octave and encoded in social disparities between the poet's own death and burial in a "common grave" and the youth's "immortal life" and entombment in men's eyes, Shakespeare, after the sonnet's turn, concentrates all of our attention on the afterlife of the youth. In his allusion to different worlds, moreover,

---

[21] *Ovid's Metamorphoses: Translated by Arthur Golding*, ed. Madeleine Forey (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001), *Met*. 15.991-93; and *Metamorphoses: Books IX-XV*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984), *Met*. 15.877-78. On the contrast between Horace's and Ovid's statements about their own poetic immortality and Shakespeare's, see Colin Burrow's commentary on sonnet 55, *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Sonnets and Poems*, ed. Burrow (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), 490.

[22] Helen Vendler makes the point about sonnet 81's "central paradox" somewhat differently, drawing it out by showing how the poem "toys anagrammatically with words-inside-words," for example, in "two such opposed words as *death* and *breath*," which "differ only by their initial consonance; that is, they share more than they realize" (*The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* [Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999], 361).

he stresses their continuity, that is, between what will have become the distant past of his own Renaissance present—of "this world"—and an implicit future world in which the youth as a remnant of that past will continue to exist in Shakespeare's verse. Although "tongues" may refer primarily to the individual "breathers" of future generations, the temporal imprecision of these lines leaves open the possibility of a far more dramatic expansion of time's horizons, whereby "tongues to be" additionally means something like "languages yet to be."[23] In short, sonnet 81 may anticipate an even broader future audience than just an English one.

In its more expansive imaginings of future worlds, Shakespeare's monumentalizing sonnets share with certain scenes from his Roman plays a deep concern for how present moments in time will come to be viewed by future readers once those moments are long past. In particular, I wish to see Shakespeare's claims about his power to transfer the youth's essence to a future world in dialogue with a scene from *Julius Caesar*, a play that attempts to re-create the sites of ancient Rome and resuscitate Rome's ghostly spirits (however belatedly and anachronistically) for Renaissance England. I am thinking, of course, of the oft-noted scene immediately following the assassination of Caesar, in which the conspirators comment—ironically from the Elizabethan point of view—on the future interpretation of the actions they have just plotted and carried out. Here, the conspirators allow their thoughts to race forward in time as they anticipate both the reception of their actions by future audiences and how those audiences will reenact their deeds in innumerable repeat performances, both on the stage and in the world:

[23] See "tongue," entries 8a-b, in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1989; online version).

"How many ages hence," Cassius exclaims to Brutus, "Shall this our lofty scene be acted over / In states unborn and accents yet unknown!"[24] What I wish to underscore, however, is Shakespeare's interest in how this act of *translatio* appears to the ancients from *within* the fiction of the play, that is, from a moment when the transmission of their heroic act can only be anticipated. In imagining a translative movement across boundaries of cultural, political, and linguistic difference, the conspirators ultimately draw our attention to the difficulties involved in presaging a smooth and easy transference of meaning and interpretive authority from their own present moment in antiquity to an unknowable and unforeseeable future. As Anthony B. Dawson has written:

> Cassius and Brutus, intent on constructing a certain reading of the events in which they have taken centre stage, are as yet unaware that the interpretation of such memorial images is far from stable. To produce such an image and send it out into the interpreting world is to lose control of it—memories and meanings are malleable, the act of interpretation potentially dangerous.[25]

To be sure, it does not take the conspirators long to realize the interpretive instability of the events whose meanings they wish to manage for present and future audiences, as just one scene later, Marc Antony will take center stage in the fight for political control and discursive authority over the events that have transpired. The chief world-shakers on

---

[24] *Julius Caesar*, in *The Riverside Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 3.1.111-13. Further citations of Shakespeare's plays appear in the text and refer to act, scene, and line numbers.

[25] Anthony B. Dawson, "The Arithmetic of Memory: Shakespeare's Theatre and the National Past," *Shakespeare Survey* 52 (1999): 58.

either side are thus deeply engaged not only in persuading the Romans of either the justice or the injustice with which Caesar's assassination was carried out but also in claiming the right to determine how the event should be understood going forward, in establishing something like an interpretive tradition of it for posterity, and in shaping the formation of what they understand from the outset to be a crucial piece of cultural inheritance and their own place within it.

Stepping back from the world-historical frame in which Cassius's lines are spoken to the individual antagonisms between Shakespeare, his poetic rival, and the fair youth in the *Sonnets*, we can nonetheless see structural similarities between the ways in which each envisions the translative movement of the memorial image into the future. While there is, first of all, their shared emphasis on the future repetition of the image—by "tongues to be" or "accents yet unknown"—what is more important is the right Shakespeare claims to fix an image of the fair youth, against those rivals who would falsely praise him and in behalf of legitimate heirs, that is, both the poet to whose verse the youth "give[s]" his "sweet semblance" (13.4) and those future ages that will "rehearse" it in Shakespeare's lines. Audiences will "o'er read" the poet's verse (just as the scene from Pompey's Theater will again be "acted over"), yet in those repetitions, the youth retains a "transcendent constancy," a phrase that Jonathan Goldberg uses to describe the conspirators' initial sense of what they take to be the absolute interpretive stability of their heroism.[26] Shakespeare's sonnet, too, insists on the constancy and the permanence of the image, using the monumental context to pun richly on "still": "You

[26] Jonathan Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1983), 167.

still shall live," he writes, always and without change or interruption, as still as—or perhaps more still than—the image of the youth to be sculpted or engraved in brass or marble. If the play re-creates the sites and the scenes of ancient Rome for Elizabethan England, then Shakespeare's sonnet encourages us to see our own rehearsal of the youth's very being as connecting us to a Renaissance past that boldly, self-consciously pronounces that it contains the seed of future worlds in which we "o'er read" the poem. To be sure, sonnet 81 admits a profound sense of historical loss in acknowledging the inevitable disappearance of Shakespeare's own world ("When all the breathers of this world are dead").[27] Nevertheless, his funeral monument to the living youth claims for itself the power to fortify "time's best jewel" (65.10) against transience and mutability and to mitigate the potential for the youth's historical estrangement from a future world. Spurned in the here and now, the poet can still use the monument of verse to project confidence that he will gain fame in the eyes of readers yet to come, as well as to compensate in some measure for the immediate loss of love and patronage.

II: *Shakespeare's Effigy of the Living Beloved*

> If a man do not erect in this age his own tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in

[27] On the ways in which Shakespeare imagines the destruction of culture and life as a necessary precondition for the youth's future survival, see Aaron Kunin, "Shakespeare's Preservation Fantasy," *PMLA* 124 (2009): 92-106, whose analysis picks up on both "the explicitness with which [the *Sonnets*] mobilize apocalyptic tropes" and the ethics of a fantasy about cultural preservation that "is not only compatible with but can also encourage a holocaust fantasy" (101).

monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps.

-*Much Ado About Nothing*, 5.2.77-80

If, in erecting a funeral monument to the living, sonnet 81 creates new losses in prematurely imagining the youth's death and the passing of Shakespeare's Renaissance present, then it does not accentuate either as such. Racing ahead in time to imagine a future world where the fair youth will forever live "entombèd in men's eyes," Shakespeare confidently asserts that the youth's being will inhabit his gentle verse. Yet the agonistic context of the rival-poet group and the sudden and anxious variations in Shakespeare's attitudes towards a new instability in his relationship with the youth also tend to exacerbate the intrinsically ambivalent ways in which funeral monuments could signify in Renaissance England. As Llewellyn has written, "funeral monuments form part of a culture's discourse on the nature of death conceived within . . . bipartite sets," of death as opposed to life, or of life "as the state prior to the after-life." They thus attempt to "balance signs of sustained memory within the community against signs of death and separation from it."[28] Rather than simply foregrounding the life-giving potential of his verse, however, the rival-poet group oscillates towards the more ominous side of the tomb's dual signification, as that which points to death.

In particular, sonnet 83, like sonnet 81, suggests that praise in verse amounts to the construction of a funeral monument to the living youth; it also links the image of the

[28] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 37.

tomb to the group's overarching concern with the inadequacy of rhetorical artifice to express the inexpressible:

> I never saw that you did painting need,
> And therefore to your fair no painting set;
> I found, or thought I found, you did exceed
> The barren tender of a poet's debt;
> And therefore have I slept in your report,
> That you yourself, being extant, well might show
> How far a modern quill doth come too short,
> Speaking of worth, what worth in you doth grow.
> This silence for my sin you did impute,
> Which shall be most my glory, being dumb;
> For I impair not beauty, being mute,
> When others would give life, and bring a tomb.
> There lives more life in one of your fair eyes
> Than both your poets can in praise devise. (83)

The opening lines of sonnet 83 pick up on the final lines of the previous poem, which condemn the new vogue for writing verse extolling the youth's beauty as nothing more than "gross painting" (82.13), an unwarranted exercise in rhetorical ornamentation whose terms draw on the Renaissance discourse against face-painting and the excessive

application of makeup to a man's or a woman's face.[29] While Renaissance theorists of poetic and oratorical *epideixis* often accentuate the advantages of freely using figures of speech for the sake of ornamentation and copious amplification, they also caution against the overuse and abuse of ornamentation, whereby representation in verse devolves into a false coloring.[30] As George Puttenham reminds us at the beginning of Book 3 of *The Art of English Poesy* (1589), the poet, if he is to praise by way of poetic ornament, must do so with the proper discretion and decorum:

> [I]f the same colors in our art of poesy . . . be not well-tempered, or not well laid, or be used in excess, or never so little disordered or misplaced, they not only give it no manner of grace at all, but rather do disfigure the stuff and spill the whole workmanship, taking away all beauty and good liking from it; no less than if the crimson taint, which should be laid upon a lady's lips, or right in the center of her cheeks, should by some oversight or mishap be applied to her forehead or chin, it would make (ye would say) but a very ridiculous beauty.[31]

In sonnet 83, Shakespeare expands the terms of Puttenham's analogy between the excessive, untempered use of poetic "color" in verse and the misapplication of "crimson taint" to a lady's chin. Indeed, it is not the misuse of ornament that disfigures poetry's

[29] See, for example, Thomas Tuke, *A Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women* (London, 1616), who writes that "a painted face is a false face, a true falshood, not a true face" (2).

[30] On the advantages, Thomas Wilson writes: "In praising or dispraising, we must exaggerate those places towards the end which make men wonder at the strangeness of anything. In persuading or dissuading, the rehearsal of commodities and heaping of examples together increase much the matter" (*The Art of Rhetoric* [1553], ed. Peter E. Medine [University Park: Penn State UP, 1994], 147).

[31] George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy by George Puttenham: A Critical Edition*, ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007), 222. Further citations of Puttenham appear in the text and refer to page number.

subject matter; rather, all contemporary poetry ("a modern quill") "doth come too short" in capturing the fair youth's "worth" in words, an acknowledgment suggesting that Shakespeare's own verse is open to the same set of charges that he levels against his rival, with his "precious phrase by all the muses filed" (85.4).

The question, then, is not so much one of maintaining a proper decorum when confronted with the challenge of representing the youth's beauty in verse; rather, for Shakespeare, to maintain decorum is to remain "dumb" and "mute," to cease from writing about the youth's beauty at all, or at least to cease from writing about the youth directly and instead to write about the virtues of not writing about him ("I think good thoughts, whilst other [sic] write good words" [85.5]). For according to the terms of his own argument, any attempt at capturing "the living record" (55.8) of the youth's beauty in verse must admit to failure. Or, as Thomas M. Greene puts it, Shakespeare's praise, like his rival's, engages in "the necessity of accepting, of employing 'compounds strange' [76.4], as the sonnets most decidedly do and as all poetry does."[32] The result is an unavoidable falling away from what the youth, "being extant, well might show" on his own. Whereas the youth sees Shakespeare's current silence as a "sin," however, Shakespeare counters this accusation by claiming that genuine praise consists in refusing to shower the youth with praise that is inherently false. Shakespeare, it seems, would make somewhat less of the problem of writing about the youth's beauty if he were the only one being asked to do so, as in sonnet 101, for example, where the rival is no longer a concern:

[32] Thomas M. Greene, "Pitiful Thrivers: Failed Husbandry in the Sonnets," in *The Vulnerable Text: Essays on Renaissance Literature* (New York: Columbia UP, 1986), 185.

Because he needs no praise, wilt thou be dumb?
Excuse not silence so, for't lies in thee,
To make him much outlive a gilded tomb,
And to be praised of ages yet to be. (101.9-12)

The lines indicate a shift in Shakespeare's attitude towards his own silence, though the self-questioning with which the quatrain begins suggests that he nonetheless continues to struggle with his resolve to commemorate one who "needs no praise" ("Were it not sinful then," he will later write, "striving to mend, / To mar the subject that before was well?" [103.9-10]). Within the context of the rival-poet group, Shakespeare responds to the youth's having sought out "Some fresher stamp of the time-bett'ring days" to offer him praise (82.8) by rebuffing the youth's trumped-up charge that his silence amounts to a "sin." Although Shakespeare shows a "desire to identify with the un-re-presentable simplicity of the youth's beauty," as Michael C. Clody has argued, it is the youth's attraction to the rival poet (rather than just a desire for such an identification) that "forces the poet's aggressive turn against the ornamental nature of representative verse" and leads Shakespeare to make the rather astonishing claim that his refusal to write about the youth is what will earn him "glory."[33]

If it is easy to hear a certain offhandedness in Shakespeare's invocation of the inexpressibility conceit in lines 9-10 of sonnet 83, his tone becomes altogether more severe, and his allegation against his rival cuts far deeper, by the time we reach lines 11-12. Once again, funeral monuments occupy center stage in the rivalry between poets. By

[33] Clody, "Self-Substantial Poetics," 489.

remaining silent, Shakespeare argues, he no longer "impair[s]" the youth's beauty. This is more than he can say of his rival, however, whose verse "would give life"—as Shakespeare claims his own will just two poems earlier—"and bring[s] a tomb" instead. Though self-assertive, the monumentalizing claims of sonnet 81 suggest little of the conspicuous, vainglorious, yet nonetheless "barren" display that he associates with "painting," which obscures and deceives, distracting the viewer from a "true plain" likeness of the youth's natural beauty (82.12). Shakespeare may even understand the verbal artifice of the rival's verse as akin to the paint that artists applied to effigies, which hid the natural beauty of the stone's naked surface and (as with face-painting) often aroused suspicion. In this sense, perhaps we are to think of the funeral monument imagined in sonnet 81 as unpainted, naked, monochromatic marble, the youth's "true plain" essence best represented by way of the natural surface color of the material with which the artist works, even when an exact and life-like replication would seem to call for a polychromatic surface. In *The Elements of Architecture* (1624), Sir Henry Wotton comes down firmly against the standard Renaissance practice of painting tombs: "though *Colours*, no doubt, haue . . . the greatest *Power* [in 'the expressing of *Affection* (as farre as it doth depend vpon the *Activity*, and *Gesture* of the *Figure*)']; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with vs the *Fashion* of *colouring*, euen *Regall Statues*, which I must take leaue to call an *English Barbarisme*."[34] Whether Shakespeare actually thought of painted statuary as tacky and vulgar, Wotton's sentiment is one that the poet of sonnet 83 implicitly shares as he taps into the rhetorical force of the arguments against painting and

[34] Sir Henry Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture*, ed. Frederick Hard (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968), 89-90.

ornament within English Renaissance culture in order to denounce his rival.[35] Sonnet 84 will enjoin the poet (any poet) writing of the youth to refrain from ornamentation, which weakens the legitimacy of the poetic representation as a conveyor of a true, accurate likeness of the youth's image: "Let him but copy what in you is writ, / Not making worse what nature made so clear" (84.9-10). In sonnet 83, however, "painting" as ornamentation works against the youth in a far more elemental manner than by failing to create a legitimate verisimilitude that captures his essence: since all poetry engages in "painting," the rival's verse—and indeed contemporary poetry in general—not only mars the youth's singular beauty but also brings a tomb and extinguishes life.

What is more, as a funeral monument to the living beloved, Shakespeare's verse questions when is the best time to capture the image of the living for posterity (when the youth looks his best and the poet could fix in time what he would most want posterity to see of him? or later in life, in old(er) age, when beauty is on the decline and the youth's death would seem nearer at hand?). In sonnet 83, the funeral monument of verse marks the youth's premature death, for it fixes an image of its subject too early, in a way that subtly suggests Shakespeare imagines that those who commemorate the youth in verse have hastily chosen the particular state in which he is forever to lie. Such anxieties about the practice of erecting funeral monuments to the living are unusual for the period.

[35] The statue of Hermione—"a piece many years in doing and now newly perform'd by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano" (5.2.95-97)—from the end of *The Winter's Tale* provides a striking counterexample; as Leonard Barkan notes, it is, "after all, both sculpted and painted and . . . finally proves to be not a work of art at all" ("'Living Sculptures': Ovid, Michelangelo, and *The Winter's Tale*," *ELH* 48 1981]: 657). On the discourse about the decoration, surface, and painted finishes of funeral monuments, see Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 137-45; on the moral and religious dangers of the painting and gilding of funeral monuments within a post-Reformation context, see 242-46.

Weever, for one, shows no signs of trepidation about the strange liminal space between life and death that an effigy of the living creates:

> It was vsuall in ancient times, and so it is in these our days, for persons of especiall ranke and qualitie to make their owne Tombes and Monuments in their life-time; partly for that they might haue a certain house to put their head in (as the old saying is) whensoeuer they should bee taken away by death, out of this their Tenement, the world; and partly to please themselues, in the beholding of their dead countenance in marble. But most especially because thereby they thought to preserue their memories from obliuion. (18)

Drawing on the precedent set by the ancients, Weever's account of the living who behold "their dead countenance in marble" provides a vivid—and, to our own sensibilities, harsh—juxtaposition of the living and the effigial. Yet he never seems to think twice about it. For him, beholding one's "dead countenance" provides a source of both comfort (insofar as the beholder will continue to have a place to lay his or her head) and pleasure, perhaps because most funeral monuments tended to present a positive image of the deceased, or because they helped to acclimate the living to a time when they will no longer be alive.[36] Above all, though, funeral monuments serve as a reminder of one's preservation "from obliuion." Like Weever, and even Samuel Daniel in his poems to

[36] Brian Chalk has recently discussed the edginess created by monumentalizing the living as it unfolds in John Webster's Jacobean tragedies; see "Webster's 'Worthyest Monument': The Problem of Posterity in *The Duchess of Malfi*," *Studies in Philology* 108 (2011): 379-402. Commenting on this passage of Weever's, Chalk writes, it is "as if seeing themselves in this state somehow granted [those who viewed their own effigies] the vicarious experience of mourning their deaths in advance" (382).

Delia, the Shakespeare of sonnets such as 55 and 81 presents no misgivings about constructing a funeral monument to the living. However, as when Othello compares the white, living, sleeping body of Desdemona to "smooth," "monumental alabaster" directly prior to the moment when he smothers her (*Othello*, 5.2.4-5), there can be no mistake that Shakespeare means to draw a sharp, uneasy distinction between the tomb imagery of sonnet 83 ("For I impair not beauty, being mute, / When others would give life, and bring a tomb"), which is here synonymous with death, and the couplet's emphasis on the animate, extant particularities of the living, breathing youth: "There lives more life in one of your fair eyes / Than both your poets can in praise devise."[37] Fixing an image of the fair youth in both time and metaphoric stone yet failing to capture his true likeness, the funeral monument of verse, rather than preserving the youth from oblivion, kills him off instead.

Nor is this the only place in the *Sonnets* where Shakespeare uses funeral monuments to draw a sharp contrast between life and death. Tomb imagery features prominently, for example, in his opening attempts to persuade the youth to father a son and extend his family line and his beauty down to future generations ("Make thee another self for love of me, / That beauty still may live in thine or thee" [10.13-14]). Because lineage predominated as a motivating factor behind the construction of funeral

[37] As E. A. J. Honigmann notes in the Arden edition, "monumental" here refers "to funeral monuments (where effigies often lie on their backs, heads resting on a stone 'pillow', hands pressed together in prayer, as if awaiting the resurrection . . .)" (*Othello* [London: Thomson, 1999], 306). G. Blakemore Evans (et al.) notes in his commentary to sonnet 83 that "both your poets" is ambiguous and could refer to there being *two* rival poets. The phrase is generally interpreted, however, "as referring to Shakespeare and one other" rival, and this is how I interpret it here (*The Sonnets*, 2nd ed. [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996], 178).

monuments, in sonnets 3 and 4, Shakespeare uses the image of the tomb to appeal to the youth's fear of oblivion:[38]

> Or who is he so fond will be the tomb
>
> Of his self-love to stop posterity? (3.7-8)
>
> ……
>
> Thy unused beauty must be tombed with thee,
>
> Which usèd lives th' executor to be. (4.13-14)

Shakespeare here gives voice to concerns that will later preoccupy Sir Thomas Browne, who in his *Hydriotaphia, or Urne-Buriall* (1658) criticizes man's lack of insight with respect to "the art of perpetuation": "But to subsist in bones and be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy in duration; vain ashes, which in the oblivion of names, persons, times, and sexes, have found unto themselves a fruitless continuation, and only arise unto late posterity as emblems of mortal vanities, antidotes against pride, vainglory, and madding vices."[39] In criticizing the substance of their message, Browne writes that what funeral monuments really convey to posterity is a precautionary tale about their actual worth. They are "emblems of mortal vanities" that keep those for whom they were erected concentrated on a secular afterlife that usurps the Protestant belief in the rising of the immortal soul heavenward at the day of judgment. Although the tombs of sonnets 3-4

[38] On "the dominance of lineage as a theme in the motivation behind early modern monuments" and the nature of its representation in stone (19), see Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 17-40. See also Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., who argues that in the youth's refusal to procreate, in his indulgence "in sexual practices divorced from the logic of memory" and perpetuity, lies "the expression of a desire . . . for oblivion" ("Voicing the Young Man: Memory, Forgetting, and Subjectivity in the Procreation Sonnets," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. Michael Schoenfeldt [Oxford: Blackwell, 2007], 338, 337).

[39] *Sir Thomas Browne: Selected Writings*, ed. Claire Preston (Manchester: Carcanet, 1995), 105-06.

remain focused on the youth's worldly posterity, they too are symbols of narcissistic foolishness and wasted opportunity. Rather than enabling the youth's fruitful continuation, the tomb "stop[s]" it, marking an end to his family line and an extinguishing of his beauty.

By the time we reach sonnet 17, the final poem of the procreation group, it has become clear that the poet's efforts to convince the youth to father a son have faltered.[40] For the first time in the sequence, moreover, Shakespeare specifically likens his verse to a funeral monument:

> Who will believe my verse in time to come
> If it were filled with your most high deserts?
> Though yet heav'n knows it is but as a tomb
> Which hides your life, and shows not half your parts.
> If I could write the beauty of your eyes,
> And in fresh numbers number all your graces,
> The age to come would say, "This poet lies –
> Such heav'nly touches ne'er touched earthly faces."
> So should my papers, yellowed with their age,
> Be scorned, like old men of less truth than tongue,
> And your true rights be termed a poet's rage

[40] As Peter C. Herman writes, "it is important to remember that Shakespeare illustrates a *failed* economy in the procreation sonnets insofar as there is no evidence suggesting that the addressee ever heeds the speaker's advice to engage in usurious procreation" ("What's the Use? Or, The Problematic of Economy in Shakespeare's Procreation Sonnets," in *Shakespeare's Sonnets: Critical Essays*, ed. James Schiffer [New York: Garland, 1999], 277-78).

And stretchèd meter of an antique song:

But were some child of yours alive that time,

You should live twice[,] in it and in my rhyme. (17)

Shakespeare's final, half-hearted attempt to persuade the youth to procreate is also the moment when he begins in earnest to seize upon the project of monumentalizing the youth in order to compensate in some measure for the inevitable loss of his beauty. As the sonnet's third quatrain emphasizes, his singular concern is with praising the youth in a way that speaks the "truth," which he opposes to the garrulousness of the "tongue." The poem that does so would fulfill what the poet feels are the youth's "true rights": an accurate, incorruptible estimation of his "most high deserts" to pass on to future generations; a survival of his likeness that is subject neither to ridicule nor to "yellow[ing] with . . . age," as Shakespeare says his own "papers" are; a poem that could actually "write the beauty of your eyes" rather than merely write *about* that beauty.

Yet already from the beginning of the sonnet, we find that such lofty poetic ambition is beyond Shakespeare's grasp. The opening quatrain compares the kind of ideal poem that the poet wishes were possible to the poem that he actually understands himself to write. As in sonnet 83, Shakespeare places the tomb as a figure for verse in vivid juxtaposition with the youth's living beauty. Taken together, these two poems outline a shifting rhetoric of motives with respect to how Shakespeare handles tomb imagery, a rhetoric that depends on his sense of the current state of the lover-beloved relationship. Whereas sonnet 83 uses the image of the tomb to denigrate his rival's verse, sonnet 17 wishes to persuade the youth that rather than conferring life, verse is an inadequate

vehicle for his preservation: just like a tomb, the poet's verse "but . . . / . . . hides your life, and shows not half your parts." Shakespeare does backtrack somewhat from the harshness of this position in the sonnet's couplet, where he allies his verse with life. However, the youth as the subject of the poem—that is, as a purely grammatical, textual construct—will no longer have any contact with an external referent with which we could match his representation in language. Hence the couplet's insistence that the youth father a son, against whom the poem would need to be measured in order to be believed: "But were some child of yours alive that time, / You should live twice[,] in it and in my rhyme." Shakespeare also shows little confidence that the poem's transmission will produce in future audiences the kind of response that he wants them to have about the youth. Instead, he imagines that such an image as he wishes he could create would indeed appear *too* perfect to those readers yet to come: "Such heav'nly touches ne'er touched earthly faces," they will scoff. A provocation to incredulity and skepticism, Shakespeare's own self-authenticated truths about the inimitable ideal of the youth's beauty here come into contact with life beyond his own hopes for the youth's future, inciting future audiences who are only too ready to mock poetic excess to take aim at what Shakespeare assumes will become his faded, time-worn, anachronistic sonnets about the youth.

Moreover, Shakespeare's seeming truths about the youth's grace, virtue, and beauty chafe against his present sense of the youth's dissolute character. In this regard, I wish to return to the opening promise of sonnet 81, where the poet states that he will write an epitaph for the youth in the event that he survives him: "Or I shall live your

epitaph to make, / Or you survive when I in earth am rotten." But just what kind of epitaph are we to imagine Shakespeare writing for him? As Peter Sherlock notes, early modern funeral monuments typically "presented purified biographies of the dead."[41] If we consider sonnet 81 in isolation from the rest of the sequence, then its reverent tone suggests that, like most epitaphs, this one, too, will be overwhelmingly positive, of the kind that William Camden describes in his *Remains Concerning Britain* (1605): "But among all funerall honours Epitaphes have alwaies bene most respective, for in them love was shewed to the deceased, memory was continued to posterity, friends were comforted, and the reader put in mind of humane fraielty."[42] Yet this was not the only description of the epitaph in the period; indeed, in explicitly associating the epitaph with the "sharp conceit[s]" of the epigram, Puttenham presents a very different picture of the genre:[43]

> An epitaph is but a kind of epigram, only applied to the report of the dead person's estate and degree, or of his other good parts, to his commendation or reproach, and is an inscription such as a man may commodiously write

[41] Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 2.
[42] William Camden, *Remains Concerning Britain*, ed. R. D. Dunn (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984), 318.
[43] Of the epigram, Puttenham writes: "But all the world could not keep, nor any civil ordinance to the contrary so prevail, but that men would and must needs utter their spleens in all ordinary matters also, or else it seemed their bowels would burst. Therefore the poet devised a pretty fashioned poem short and sweet . . . and called it epigram, in which every merry conceited man might without any long study or tedious ambage make his friend sport, and anger his foe, and give a pretty nip, or show a sharp conceit in few verses" (*The Art of English Poesy*, 142). Writing about the closural force of the epigram, Barbara Herrnstein Smith (like Puttenham) notes its close association with the epitaph: "As an utterance, the epigram seems to be the last word on its subject. This quality can probably be referred to the origins of the form: engraved on tombs, statues, public buildings, or wherever an inscription was wanted to identify or characterize something both briefly and permanently, the epigram would stand, for all time, to all readers, as the ultimately appropriate statement thereupon" (*Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968], 196).

> or engrave upon a tomb in few verses, pithy, quick, and sententious, for the passerby to peruse and judge upon without any long tarriance. (144)

For both Camden and Puttenham, funeral monuments, including their epitaphs, are lodged firmly within the realm of the epideictic; for the latter, however, the epitaph, like the epigram, is a genre that slides easily between the poles of both praise and blame, "commendation" and "reproach."

In a recent study on the early modern epitaph, Scott L. Newstok explores the various ways in which "texts that are presumed to belong by definition (*epi-taphos*: 'on the tomb') to a very proscribed place end up being re-composed elsewhere," in political speeches, revenge tragedies, and rhetoric and poetics manuals, at the ends of funeral elegies and in Elizabethan chronicles, chorographies, and other antiquarian studies about England's past. In short, he shows how epitaphic inscriptions engraved on funeral monuments in the churchyard are "transfigured into a *textual* space, an emergent way of relating to the dead in the early modern period—in *print*."[44] I wish to extend Newstok's insights to Shakespeare's epigrammatic couplets, for in continually likening his verse to a funeral monument, Shakespeare gives us license to look to his couplets for printed models of the kind of personalized epitaph he imagines having to compose for the youth's tomb. After all, his couplets form a vital part of his monument to the youth and often attempt to encapsulate for posterity something essential about the youth. Indeed, sonnets 1 and 126, which mark the opening and the close of Shakespeare's sonnets to the youth, foreground the question of the youth's ontological status, and they do so precisely

[44] Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 5, 56.

in their couplets, which repeat the rhyme words "be/thee" in referring to the youth. The only other poems to conclude with these particular rhyme words are also bunched up at the beginning of the subsequence, in sonnets 3 and 4, and at the end, in sonnet 123, which addresses Time. What is more, each of these poems emphasizes the extinguishing of the youth's being and beauty. While sonnets 3 and 4 explicitly mention tombs—"Thy unused beauty must be tombed with thee, / Which usèd lives th'executor to be" (4.13-14)—the sequence's opening sonnet indicates that the youth's wasteful self-absorption in his refusal to procreate has the same efficacy to stop the continuation of his family line as the grave: "Pity the world, or else this glutton be— / To eat the world's due, by the grave and thee" (1.13-14). If these opening sonnets use tomb imagery to emphasize the absence of any genealogical continuity between the present and the future, then sonnet 126, a twelve-line poem in couplets that departs from Shakespeare's standard sonnet form, provides their typological counterpart at the subsequence's end:

> O thou, my lovely boy, who in thy pow'r
> Dost hold time's fickle glass, his sickle hour,
> Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st
> Thy lovers withering, as thy sweet self grow'st—
> If nature, sovereign mistress over wrack,
> As thou goest onwards still will pluck thee back,
> She keeps thee to this purpose, that her skill
> May time disgrace, and wretched minute kill.
> Yet fear her, O thou minion of her pleasure;

She may detain but not still keep her treasure.

Her audit, though delayed, answered must be,

And her quietus is to render thee.

( )

( ) (126)

Even if it is unclear what role Shakespeare may have played either in ordering his sonnets or in seeing his work through to publication, the formal semantic of the couplets that binds the words "be/thee" together in rhyme, as well as their appearance in poems located at the beginning and the end of the subsequence, reinforces our sense of the poet's desire to distil the youth's essence for future generations. At the same time, the two sets of parentheses that conclude sonnet 126 give a sense of radical incompleteness to the sonnets to the youth. Whether Shakespeare's choice to introduce the parentheses showing where a final couplet might have been, or the printer's way of accounting for the two lines that appear to be missing, their inclusion in the 1609 quarto has a "typographical effect" that, as Colin Burrow remarks, "highlight[s] the frustrated expectations created by the poem's form."[45] The parentheses suggest that the clearing of accounts that indicates an ending of life is perhaps not so far off. Often read in terms of tombs and graves, they also capture a material component of Shakespeare's obsession with erecting a funeral monument for the youth.[46] I would suggest further that they could even be read as

[45] Burrow, *The Complete Sonnets and Poems*, 632.

[46] Vendler, for example, writes that the missing couplet functions as a "mute effigy of the rendered youth" (*The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 538). See also John Lennard, *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), who suggests that "the unfilled lunulae

marking an empty space for the epitaph that will record the youth's "being," as sonnet 81 indicates, but that has yet to be written. In this sense, they figure a silence whose typography captures Shakespeare's resistance to erecting a funeral monument for his "lovely boy" for fear that all images of the youth—whether written in verse or carved in stone—are destined to fail to capture his true likeness for posterity.

Whereas the concluding silence occupies a prominent place in the sonnets to the youth, Shakespeare often has far more to say about the youth in his poems' final couplets. In the procreation sonnets, he imagines that the youth's "distillation" of himself in a son will carry his beauty into the future, "Leaving [him] living in posterity" (5.9; 6.12). As critics have long noted, the metaphor soon finds an analogue in the poetic monument, as the poet decides to take up the task of preserving the youth in his own "eternal lines," to "make him seem long hence as he shows now" (18.12; 101.14). Distillation devices in their own right, Shakespeare's couplets provide a dynamic means within the larger structure of the sonnet for "pithy, quick, and sententious" reflection. As part of the monument that Shakespeare writes for the youth, they also serve a memorializing function: at times loving and respectful, at times sharp and reproachful, and of course always brief, they provide the kind of memorable summation of the youth's character and beauty that we might expect to appear—as well as to fit—on a headstone:

> Blessèd are you whose worthiness gives scope,
> Being had to triumph, being lacked to hope. (52.13-14)

……

graphically represent both the *Quietus* which has been obtained, and, in human terms, either the silence (quiet) of the grave, or the empty grave which the corpse of the 'louely Boy' must sooner or later fill (43).

In all external grace you have some part,

But you like none, none you, for constant heart. (53.13-14)

……

Fair, kind, and true, have often lived alone,

Which three, till now, never kept seat in one. (105.13-14)

Because sonnet 81 contains none of the antagonisms that characterize the other poems in the rival-poet group, we can surmise that the kind of epitaph Shakespeare imagines writing will commend the youth with just the kinds of idealizing superlatives that are packed into these couplets. Yet what if we were to bring the immediate and contentious context within which sonnet 81 sits to bear on the question of what kind of epitaph Shakespeare may one day write? In the surrounding poems, Shakespeare's indignation at being rejected by the youth in favor of a rival poet mixes with his praise for the youth's singular beauty, which defies representation. What results is a verse that is not so "gentle" in its handling of the youth as sonnet 81 leads us to believe. Although sonnet 84 lauds the youth's inimitability, for example, its couplet roundly criticizes him by insinuating that the youth invites others to praise him simply because he likes being flattered:

You to your beauteous blessings add a curse,

Being fond on praise, which makes your praises worse. (84.13-14)

More caustic still in their condemnation of the youth are the couplets to a number of sonnets that sit outside the rival-poet group:

How like Eve's apple doth thy beauty grow,

If thy sweet virtue answer not thy show. (93.13-14)

……

For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;

Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds. (94.13-14)

……

So true a fool is love, that in your will,

Though you do anything, he thinks no ill. (57.13-14)

Chastising the youth for how much worse his poor behavior comes off as a result of his exemplary beauty, these couplets are remarkable for the incisive way in which they capture Shakespeare's somber bitterness towards the youth's deceits ("Thy looks with me, thy heart in other place" [93.4]). Just "like a canker in the fragrant rose," so the fair youth covers over his faults in loveliness: "O in what sweets dost thou thy sins enclose!" (95.2, 4).

Given his sonnets' frequent equivocations between praise and blame and the flexible nature of the epitaph as "a kind of epigram," it is not difficult to imagine Shakespeare writing an epitaph that would recapitulate a similar duplicity. Having the appearance of praise on the surface, it would nonetheless contain a subtle dig, as in the final line of sonnet 53 ("But you like none, none you, for constant heart"), where "like" can easily be heard as slipping grammatically from an adjective to a verb. To be sure, Shakespeare's equivocations in the *Sonnets* have long been the subject of scholarly

attention.[47] Unable (or perhaps unwilling) to separate beauty's outer form from the youth's churlishness, or to disentangle his untainted, idealized vision of the youth from the internal disease of moral corruption, Shakespeare often presents the youth's sweetness and grace alongside his sourness and deceptiveness. Less noted, however, is the impact Shakespeare's equivocations have on our perceptions of the figure we are supposed to remember forever. In one of the more profound ironies of the collection, Shakespeare makes the fluctuations in his own sense of what constitutes the youth's essential "being" an integral part of the collection-as-funeral monument; indeed, he makes little attempt to purify the youth's character for posterity, as perhaps the actual epitaph Shakespeare imagines writing for him (after his death and in stone) would do. The irony thus points to a larger disconnect between, on the one hand, the equivocating sonnets that serve as the funeral monument to the youth that Shakespeare actually writes and, on the other, his projection of a strikingly different kind of ideal and idealizing epitaph—one that he has yet to compose.

In the rival-poet group, Shakespeare responds to the shortcomings of poetic representation, which make fixing the youth's image in verse the same as "bring[ing] a tomb," by appealing to silence and honoring the inexpressible. As we have seen, however, his recourse to the inexpressibility conceit is more than just a fanciful and

[47] Colie has scrutinized how the poems "play off various commonplaces from the [P]etrarchan tradition of idealized love against the [couplets'] language of gall" (*Resources of Kind*, 72), and in *Captive Victors: Shakespeare's Narrative Poems and Sonnets* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987), Heather Dubrow has shown how Shakespeare praises the youth only to have that praise shade into blame or, what is perhaps more insidious, slip into obvious, dishonest flattery (169-257). More recently, Lisa Freinkel has examined the ways in which the poems "portray the impossibility of telling the tenor from the vehicle, the original from the copy, the true from the counterfeit" (*Reading Shakespeare's Will: The Theology of Figure from Augustine to the Sonnets* [New York: Columbia UP, 2002], 165).

ingenious way for him to praise the youth by saying that he is beyond praise. For the group pushes the conceit towards its logical extreme (one is reminded of Wittgenstein's insistence that "whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent"[48]). Or rather, the group pushes the conceit towards what is perhaps the closest equivalence to silence that we find in the *Sonnets*: an immaculately tautological expression of pure adoration that is purged of all artificiality, which is to say, of all rhetoric; an expression that would be true under any condition and at any point in time whatsoever:[49]

> Who is it that says most, which can say more
>
> Than this rich praise, *that you alone are you* . . .?
>
> ……
>
> But he that writes of you, if he can tell
>
> *That you are you,* so dignifies his story. (84.1-2, 7-8; emphases added)

Having acknowledged his uneasiness about sculpting a poetic effigy of his living beloved, as well as the shortcomings of the distinctly lapidary fixity of the funeral monument as both a figure for the poem and a place to capture the youth's image for posterity, Shakespeare turns instead to other forms of fixity, in this case to a perfect reflexivity whereby the incomparable youth is measurable only to himself, is alone worthy of himself.[50] In hopes of seeing through "time and outward form" to what is

[48] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922), 189.
[49] On tautology in the *Sonnets*, see John Kerrigan (ed.), *William Shakespeare: The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint* (London: Penguin, 1986), 25-30.
[50] Shakespeare's expressions ("that you alone are you") suggest a version of the *sui similis* trope used in such plays as *Henry V* and *Antony and Cleopatra*; on the trope in the English Renaissance, see Hereward T. Price, "Like Himself," *Review of English Studies* 16 (1940): 178-81.

"eternal" in love and art, he yearns for a poetry that could "register" a simple, ritualistic repetition of what is vital and ever-present (108.14, 9, 3):

> . . . like prayers divine,
> I must each day say o'er the very same;
> Counting no old thing old, thou mine, I thine,
> Ev'n as when first I hallowed thy fair name. (108.5-8)

But to think that verse could do so would be to overlook the interpretive malleability of a highly mobile poetic language, one that is bound to take on new shapes given the ever-shifting contours of the lover-beloved, poet-patron relationship and Shakespeare's changing attitudes towards it. By the time he comes to write sonnet 108, much in their relationship has undergone significant alteration—and Shakespeare's verse has monumentalized a great many of those alterations—in between the time of that poem's retrospective glance and the originary moment when Shakespeare "first . . . hallowed" the youth's "fair name."

***

As we saw in sonnet 17, Shakespeare's sonnets to the youth foreground his sense of the perils of posterity's reception of his "gentle monument" once it is disseminated outward from the insular world of his relationship with his beloved. In a recent essay examining how Shakespeare's *Sonnets* uses the Latinate shape of certain English words "to imagine a poetic means for overcoming [the temporal] distance" between ancient and modern, Bradin Cormack makes a compelling case for the flexibility of the poems' engagement with both the Latin classics and humanist culture. Writing with a philological interest in

"the intratextual dynamics" between modern English words and their Latin roots, he argues that in the *Sonnets*, the gap between ancient and modern, classical and vernacular, Rome and England, analogizes "lyric's traditional concern with the distance separating lover and beloved."[51] In Cormack's account of sonnet 17, for example, a poem that assumes a future audience full of skepticism about the accuracy of the poet's representations, he nonetheless sees Shakespeare as imagining that his verse will overcome the historical distance separating his Renaissance present from future worlds to achieve the status of a classic. In particular, he applies pressure to Shakespeare's "stretchèd meter" (17.12), a phrase that in addition to meaning a metrical defect, also suggests that Shakespeare's poem will "be stretched, in respect of time, in a positive sense, . . . powerfully join[ing] present, past, and future."[52] While I agree that the *Sonnets* pursues a means to repair in advance the damage that "time's injurious hand" (63.2) will certainly cause, and thus to establish a sense of imaginative presence with future readers, the sequence often introduces a more conflicted attitude towards textual transmission and the future reception and interpretation of Shakespeare's gentle verse than Cormack suggests. In particular, sonnet 81 imagines a far less difficult act of transference than we find in sonnet 17, and it provides a better example of the kind of positive continuity that Shakespeare longs to establish with posterity. In sonnet 17, by contrast, the problem concerning the mutability and eventual deterioration of the fair youth's image has as

[51] Bradin Cormack, "Tender Distance: Latinity and Desire in Shakespeare's Sonnets," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 246, 242. For an account of Shakespeare's flexible treatment of the classics in his plays, see Colin Burrow, "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," in *Shakespeare and the Classics*, ed. Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), 9-27.

[52] Ibid., 255. As its title indicates, Cormack's essay scrutinizes Shakespeare's word play on the Latin verb *tendere* ("to stretch"; "to extend"), especially in sonnets 44 and 45.

much to do with Shakespeare's own suspiciousness of those future audiences who will one day read his monumentalizing verse as it does with the accuracy of his representations or the durability of the medium that transmits them. Rather than making the distance separating the ancient past from the Renaissance present serve as the starting point for an analysis of the gaps that separate lover and beloved, poet and patron, we should begin by seeing the at-times tender, at-times antagonistic, but nearly always fractured relationships of the *Sonnets* as a synecdoche for the immense historical and interpretive distance separating the poet's monument from an imagined future world.

Yet Shakespeare's concerns are not solely about posterity's reception of his verse. Rather, if Shakespeare envisions his verse about the youth in terms that implicitly place it on a par with those long-lasting ancient classics, at the same time he writes—and knows that he writes—from within a literary context where the imitation, re-presentation, and reproduction of both Petrarchan poetry and ancient culture in Renaissance England have become increasingly susceptible to ambivalence and even parody. One need only consider Shakespeare's own consciously archaic, gently parodic treatment of "the fairest wights" from antiquity (106.2); or his critique of the ideal Petrarchan beauty in sonnet 130; or even such comedies of Petrarchan desire as *Much Ado About Nothing* or *Love's Labor's Lost*.[53] Even in his own time, we find Shakespeare anxious about the contemporary reception of his praise of the youth's beauty:

[53] The phrase is Patrick Cheney's; see his chapter "Halting Sonnets: The Comedy of Petrarchan Desire in *Much Ado About Nothing*," in *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008), 179-202. On the overlap between the *Sonnets* and *Love's Labor's Lost*, see David Schalkwyk, *Speech and Performance in Shakespeare's Sonnets and Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 59-101. On the

But those same tongues that give thee so thine own [i.e., due],

In other accents do this praise confound

By seeing farther than the eye hath shown. (69.6-8)

The phrase "this praise" refers to the praise paid to the youth's "outward" beauty by Shakespeare's contemporaries (69.5). Its demonstrative pronoun, however, suggests that the phrase could just as easily refer to Shakespeare's own praise of the youth, which has already been translated into "other accents" by those who read it—already "confound[ed]," confused, and ruined.[54] To the youth's "fair flow'r," the consuming public can only "add the rank smell of weeds," turning what was singular into something familiar, cheap, and "common" (69.13-14). Already at the inception of the sonneteering vogue in the early 1590s, "Such heav'nly touches ne'er touched earthly faces" (17.8) would have been a common criticism of the lover's representation of his beloved. Indeed, it is not hard to hear in this complaint—ostensibly made by future audiences—an echo of Berowne's response to overhearing the recitation of a series of love sonnets: "This is the liver-vein, which makes flesh a deity, / A green goose a goddess; pure, pure idolatry" (*LLL*, 4.3.72-73). Given the unfavorable, even hostile reactions that amatory lyric often provoked in Shakespeare's own time, transferring the youth's essential being in the form of a monumentalizing verse would seem, to the poet's own mind, compromised from the very start. The poet's sense of his own inadequacy to fix the youth's being and beauty in metaphoric marble thus dovetails with his suspiciousness about how future (and even

ways in which English Petrarchism "regularly incorporates attacks on its own vision" (6), see Heather Dubrow, *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and Its Counterdiscourses* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995).

[54] Shakespeare uses the verb "confound" in the sense of "ruin" or "destroy" in sonnet 63: "For such a time do I now fortify / Against confounding age's cruel knife" (63.9-10).

present) audiences will receive his poems about the fair youth. The mobility of his own poetic language; his equivocating insights about the youth's flawed character; the inevitable shifts to occur in reading practice and poetic convention that he expects will threaten the lapidary fixity that his verse aims to achieve—together, these concerns suggest that Shakespeare's sense of the perils of textual transmission runs much deeper than just a worry about the durability of the poetic text. Rather, the immortalization of the still extant beloved in the funeral monument of verse allows him to anticipate a set of anachronistic, skeptical, and even hostile evaluations from future audiences. To a pensive observer such as Shakespeare, it can also appear as a strange, obsessive, and ultimately premature preparation for death.

Bibliography

Adler, Jeremy. "*Technopaigneia, carmina figurata* and *Bilder-Reime*: Seventeenth-Century Figured Poetry in Historical Perspective." *Comparative Criticism: A Yearbook* 4 (1982): 107-47.

Alberti, Leon Battista. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992 (1988).

Anderson, Christy. "Monstrous Babels: Language and Architectural Style in the English Renaissance." In *Architecture and Language*. 148-61.

---. "Learning to Read Architecture in the English Renaissance." In *Albion's Classicism*. 239-86.

Anon. *Zepheria* (1594). In *Elizabethan Sonnets*. Ed. Sidney Lee. 2 vols. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1904. 2.153-78.

Ascham, Roger. *English Works: Toxophilus, Report of the Affaires and State of Germany, The Scholemaster*. Ed. William Aldis Wright. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1904.

Ashbery, John. *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror*. New York: Penguin, 1976.

Aston, Margaret. *England's Iconoclasts: Volume 1: Laws Against Images*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1988.

Attridge, Derek. "Puttenham's Perplexity: Nature, Art, and the Supplement in Renaissance Poetic Theory." In *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*. Ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986.

---. *Well-Weighed Syllables: Elizabethan Verse in Classical Metres*. London: Cambridge UP, 1974.

Barkan, Leonard. “Ruins and Visions: Spenser, Pictures, Rome.” In *Edmund Spenser: Essays on Culture and Allegory*. Ed. J. K. Morrison and M. Greenfield. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. 9-36.

---. *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1999.

---. *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1986.

---. “‘Living Sculptures’: Ovid, Michelangelo, and the *Winter’s Tale*.” *ELH* 48 (1981): 639-667.

Barolini, Teodolinda. “The Making of a Lyric Sequence: Time and Narrative in Petrarch’s *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*.” *MLN* 104 (1989): 1-38.

Barret, J. K. “The Poetics of Futurity in Renaissance England.” Unpublished.

Bauer, Douglas F. “The Function of the Pygmalion Myth in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid.” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 93 (1962): 1-21.

Blank, Paula. *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings*. London: Routledge, 1996.

Blisset, William. “Samuel Daniel’s Sense of the Past.” *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 38 (1957): 49-63.

Blum, Abbe. “‘Strike all that look upon with mar[b]le’: Monumentalizing Women in Shakespeare’s Plays.” In *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*. Ed. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1990. 99-118.

Blum, Hans. *The Booke of Five Collumnes of Architecture*. Trans. I. T. London: 1608.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *Genealogie deorum gentilium libri*. Ed. Vincenzo Romano. 2 vols. Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1951.

Braden, Gordon. "Ovid, Petrarch, and Shakespeare's *Sonnets.*" In *Shakespeare's Ovid: The* Metamorphoses *in the Plays and Poems*. Ed. A. B. Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 96-112.

---. *Petrarchan Love and the Continental Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1999.

Brink, Jean R. "Who Fashioned Edmund Spenser?: The Textual History of *Complaints*." *Studies in Philology* 88 (1991): 153-68.

Brooks, Cleanth. *The Well-Wrought Urn: Studies in the Structure of Poetry*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1975 (1947).

Brown, Richard Danson. *The New Poet: Novelty and Tradition in Spenser's* Complaints. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1999.

Browne, Sir Thomas. *Sir Thomas Browne: Selected Writings*. Ed. Claire Preston Manchester: Carcanet, 1995.

Burrow, Colin. "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture." In *Shakespeare and the Classics*. Ed. Charles Martindale and A. B. Taylor. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 9-27.

Camden, William. *Remains Concerning Britain*. Ed. R. D. Dunn. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1984.

Carew, Richard. *The Excellency of the English Tongue*. In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. 2.285-94.

Casanova, Pascale. *The World Republic of Letters*. Trans. M. B. DeBevoise. Cambridge:

Harvard UP, 2004.

Chalk, Brian. "Webster's 'Worthyest Monument': The Problem of Posterity in *The Duchess of Malfi*." *Studies in Philology* 108 (2011): 379-402.

Cheney, Patrick. *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008.

Church, Margaret. "The First English Pattern Poems." *PMLA* 61 (1946): 636-50.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *De inventione. De optimo genere oratorum. Topica*. Trans. H. M. Hubbell. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960 (1949).

Clarke, Georgia, and Paul Crossley, eds. *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000-c. 1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Clody, Michael C. "Shakespeare's 'Alien Pen': Self-Substantial Poetics in the Young Man Sonnets**."***Criticism* 50 (2008): 471-500.

Coldiron, A. E. B. "How Spenser Excavates Du Bellay's Antiquitez: Or, The Role of the Poet, Lyric Historiography, and the English Sonnet." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 101 (2002): 41-67.

Colie, Rosalie L. *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance*. Ed. Barbara K. Lewalski. Berkeley: University of California, 1973.

Corbett, Margery, and Ronald Lightbown. *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

Corbett, Margery. "The Architectural Title-Page: An Attempt to Trace Its Development from Its Humanist Origins up to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, the Heyday of the Complex Engraved Title-Page." *Motif* 12 (1964): 48-62.

Cormack, Bradin. "Tender Distance: Latinity and Desire in Shakespeare's Sonnets." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Ed. Michael Schoenfeldt. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007. 242-60.

Cressy, David. *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1997.

Daly, Peter M. *Literature in the Light of the Emblem: Structural Parallels between the Emblem and Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1979.

Daniel, Samuel. *Samuel Daniel: Selected Poetry and A Defense of Rhyme*. Ed. Geoffrey G. Hiller and Peter L. Groves. Asheville: Pegasus, 1998.

---. *Poems and A Defence of Ryme*. Ed. Arthur Colby Sprague. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1930.

Dawson, Anthony B. "The Arithmetic of Memory: Shakespeare's Theatre and the National Past." *Shakespeare Survey* 52 (1999): 54-67.

Dee, John. "Mathematicall Preface." In *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara faithfully (now first) translated into the Englishe toung by H. Billingsley*. London, 1570.

Dorangeon, Simone. "Les *Complaints* de Spenser et l'héritage de Du Bellay." *Oeuvres & Critiques: Revue Internationale d'Etude de la Reception Critique d'Etude des Oeuvres Litteraires de Langue* 20 (1995): 175-82.

Drayton, Michael. *The Barrons Wars in the Raigne of Edward the Second. With Englands Heroicall Epistles*. London, 1603.

Du Bellay, Joachim. *Joachim du Bellay: "The Regrets," with "The Antiquities of Rome," Three Latin Elegies, and "The Defense and Enrichment of the French Language."* Ed. and trans. Richard Helgerson. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006.

Dubrow, Heather. *The Challenges of Orpheus: Lyric Poetry and Early Modern England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007.

---. "'Incertainties now crown themselves assur'd': The Politics of Plotting Shakespeare's Sonnets." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47 (1996): 291-305.

---. *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and Its Counterdiscourses*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995.

---. *Captive Victors: Shakespeare's Narrative Poems and Sonnets*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1987.

Duncan-Jones, Katherine. "Was the 1609 *Shake-speares Sonnets* Really Unauthorized?" *Review of English Studies* 34 (1983): 151-71.

Dundas, Judith. *Pencils Rhetorique: Renaissance Poets and the Art of Painting*. Newark: University of Delaware, 1993.

Edwards, Catharine. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996.

Elsky, Martin. *Authorizing Words: Speech, Writing, and Print in the English Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.

Fenoaltea, Doranne. "'La ruynée fabrique de ces langues …': la métaphore architecturale

dans *La Défense et Illustration*." In *Du Bellay: Actes du Colloque International d'Angers du 26 au 29 mai, 1989*. Ed. Georges Cesdron. 2 vols. Angers: Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1990. 2.665-75.

Ferguson, Arthur B. "The Historical Thought of Samuel Daniel: A Study in Renaissance Ambivalence." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 32 (1971): 185-202.

Ferguson, Margaret. "'The Afflatus of Ruin': Meditations on Rome by Du Bellay, Spenser, and Stevens." In *Roman Images*. Ed. Annabel Patterson. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984. 23-50.

---. "The Exile's Defense: Du Bellay's *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse*." *PMLA* 93 (1978): 275-89.

Fichter, Andrew. "'And nought of *Rome* in *Rome* perceiu'st at all': Spenser's *Ruines of Rome*." *Spenser Studies* 2 (1981): 183-92.

Fineman, Joel. *Shakespeare's Perjured Eye: The Invention of Poetic Subjectivity in the* Sonnets. Berkeley: University of California, 1986.

Fleming, Juliet. *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*. London: Reaktion, 2001.

Fontaine, Marie-Madeleine. "Le Système des *Antiquités* de Du Bellay." In *Le Sonnet à la Renaissance des origins a XVII^{e} siècle*. Ed. Yvonne Bellenger. Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1986. 67-81.

Fowler, Don. "The Ruin of Time: Monuments and Survival at Rome." In *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000. 193-217.

Fradenburg, Louise O. "'Voice Memorial': Loss and Reparation in Chaucer's Poetry." *Exemplaria* 2 (1990): 169-202.

Freccero, John. "The Fig Tree and the Laurel: Petrarch's Poetics." In *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*. Ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986. 20-32.

Freinkel, Lisa. *Reading Shakespeare's Will: The Theology of Figure from Augustine to the Sonnets*. New York: Columbia UP, 2002.

Friedman, Alice T. "Did England Have a Renaissance? Classical and Anticlassical Themes in Elizabethan Culture." In *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*. Ed. Susan J. Barnes and Walter S. Melion. Hanover: UP of New England, 1989. 95-111.

Gent, Lucy. *Picture and Poetry, 1560-1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English Renaissance*. Leamington Spa: James Hall, 1981.

---, ed. *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995.

Geoffrey of Vinsauf. *Poetria Nova of Geoffrey of Vinsauf*. Trans. Margaret F. Nims. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1967.

Goldberg, Jonathan. *James I and the Politics of Literature: Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne, and Their Contemporaries*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1983.

Greenblatt, Stephen J. "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century." In *Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1990. 16-39.

Greene, Thomas M. “Pitiful Thrivers: Failed Husbandry in the Sonnets.” In *The Vulnerable Text: Essays on Renaissance Literature*. New York: Columbia UP, 1986. 175-93.

---. *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1982.

Greenfield, Matthew, “The Cultural Functions of Renaissance Elegy.” *English Literary Renaissance* 28 (1998): 75-94.

Guy-Bray, Stephen. “‘The Achievement of Print’: Samuel Daniel and the Anxiety of Authorship.” *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 29 (2003): 101-18.

Hagstrum, Jean H. *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1958.

Hamilton, A. C., ed. *The Spenser Encyclopedia*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1990.

Hardie, Philip. *Ovid’s Poetics of Illusion*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Harris, Eileen, with Nicholas Savage. *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990.

Hart, Jonathan. “Conflicting Monuments: Time, Beyond Time, and the Poetics of Shakespeare’s Dramatic and Nondramatic Sonnets.” In *In the Company of Shakespeare: Essays in English Renaissance Literature in Honor of G. Blakemore Evans*. Ed. Thomas Moisan and Douglas Bruster. Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2002. 177-205.

Harvey, Gabriel. *Letter-book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580*. Ed. Edward John Long Scott. Camden Society Series. Vol. 33. Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1884.

Hedley, Jane. *Power in Verse: Metaphor and Metonymy in the Renaissance Lyric*. University Park: Penn State UP, 1988.

Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992.

Herman, Peter C. "What's the Use? Or, the Problematic of Economy in Shakespeare's Procreation Sonnets." In *Shakespeare's Sonnets: Critical Essays*. Ed. James Schiffer. New York: Garland, 1999. 263-83.

Hersey, George L. *Falling in Love with Statues: Artificial Humans from Pygmalion to the Present*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009.

Hieatt, A. Kent. "The Genesis of Shakespeare's Sonnets: Spenser's *Ruines of Rome: by Bellay*." *PMLA* 98 (1983): 800-14.

Hollander, John. *Vision and Resonance: Two Senses of Poetic Form*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1985 (1975).

Honigmann, E. A. J. *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1987.

Horace. *Odes and Epodes*. Ed. and trans. Niall Rudd. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2004.

---. *Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica*. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1929.

Houlbrooke, Ralph A. *The English Family, 1450-1700*. London: Longman, 1984.

Hulse, Clark. *The Rule of Art: Literature and Painting in the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990.

Hulse, S. Clark. "Samuel Daniel: The Poet as Literary Historian." *SEL* 19 (1979): 55-69.

Hutchison, Coleman. "Breaking the Books Known as Q." *PMLA* 121 (2006): 33-66.

Jacks, Philip. *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Johnson, A. W. *Ben Jonson: Poetry and Architecture*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.

Jones, Richard Foster. *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1953.

Jonson, Ben. *Ben Jonson*. Ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson. 11 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-1952.

Kau, Joseph. "Delia's Gentle Lover and the Eternizing Conceit in Elizabethan Sonnets." *Anglia: Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie* 92 (1974): 334-48.

Keen, Catherine. "'Va', mia canzone': Textual Transmission and the *Congedo* in Medieval Exile Lyrics." *Italian Studies*, 64 (2009): 183-97.

Keilen, Sean. *Vulgar Eloquence: On the Renaissance Invention of English Literature*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2006.

Kemp, Brian. *English Church Monuments*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1980.

Kennedy, William J. *The Site of Petrarchism: Early Modern National Sentiment*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2003.

Korn, A. L. "Puttenham and the Oriental Pattern-Poem." *Comparative Literature* 6 (1954): 289-303.

Kunin, Aaron. "Shakespeare's Preservation Fantasy." *PMLA* 124 (2009): 92-106.

Kurtz, Donna. "The Concept of the Classical Past in Tudor and Early Stuart England."

Journal of the History of Colelctions 20 (2008): 189-204.

Lafaye, Georges. *Les métamorphoses d'Ovide et leurs modèles grecs*. Paris: F. Alcan, 1904.

Lamb, Julian. "A Defense of Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie*." *ELR* 39 (2009): 24-46.

Larmour, David H. J., and Diana Spencer, eds. *The Sites of Rome*: *Time, Space, Memory.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007.

Lee, Rensselaer W. "*Ut Pictura Poesis*: The Humanistic Theory of Painting." *Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197-269.

Leishman, J. B. *Themes and Variations in Shakespeare's Sonnets*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

Lennard, John. *But I Digress: The Exploitation of Parentheses in English Printed Verse*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

Lesko Baker, Deborah. "Petrarchan Lyric Subjectivity in Joachim du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome*." *Annali d'italianistica* 22 (2004): 207-19.

Lily, William, et al. *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar*. London, 1567; New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1945.

Llewellyn, Nigel. *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Lodge, Thomas. *A Defence of Poetry*. In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. 1.61-86.

Loewenstein, Joseph. "Spenser's Retrography: Two Episodes in Post-Petrarchan Bibliography." In *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography*. Ed. Judith H. Anderson et al. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1996. 99-130.

Lyne, Raphael. *Ovid's Changing Worlds: English Metamorphoses, 1567-1632*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.

MacPhail, Eric. "Prophecy and Memory in the Renaissance Dream Vision." In *The Force of Vision, II: Visions in History; Visions of the Other*. Ed. Earl Miner et al. Tokyo: International Comparative Literature Association, 1995. 193-99.

---. "The Roman Tomb or the Image of the Tomb in Du Bellay's *Antiquitez*." *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 48 (1986): 359-72.

Manley, Lawrence. "Spenser and the City: The Minor Poems." *MLQ* 43 (1982): 203-27.

Marotti, Arthur F. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995.

---. "'*Love* Is Not *Love*': Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order." *ELH* 49 (1982): 396-428.

Marston, John. *The Poems of John Marston*. Ed. Arnold Davenport. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1961.

McDonald, Russ. "Compar or Parison: Measure for Measure." In *Renaissance Figures of Speech*. Ed. Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. 39-58.

McGowan, Margaret M. *The Vision of Rome in Late Renaissance France*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2000.

Melehy, Hassan. *The Poetics of Literary Transfer in Early Modern France and England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Miller, Edwin H. "Samuel Daniel's Revisions in *Delia*." *Journal of English and*

Germanic Philology 53 (1954): 58-68

Miller, Jane M. "Some Versions of Pygmalion." In *Ovid Renewed: Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*. Ed. Charles Martindale. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988. 205-14.

Mirollo, James. "Sibling Rivalry in the Arts Family: The Case of Poetry vs. Painting in the Italian Renaissance." In *So Rich a Tapestry: The Sister Arts and Cultural Studies*. Ed. Ann Hurley and Kate Greenspan. Lewisburg: Bucknell UP, 1995. 29-71.

Moroney, Maryclaire. "Spenser's Dissolution: Monasticism and Ruins in *The Faerie Queene* and *The View of the Present State of Ireland*." *Spenser Studies* 12 (1998): 105-32.

Mulcaster, Richard. *The First Part of the Elementarie which Entreateth Chefelie of the Right Writing of Our English Tung*. London, 1582.

Nabokov, Vladimir. *The Annotated Lolita*. Ed. Alfred Appel, Jr. New York: Vintage, 1991.

Newstok, Scott L. *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Nora, Pierre. "General Introduction: Between Memory and History." In *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. Trans. A Goldhammer. Ed. L. B. Kritzman. 3 vols. New York: Columbia UP, 1996-98. 1.1-20

Ovid. *Metamorphoses, Books I-VIII*. Trans. Frank Justus Miller. Rev. G. P. Goold. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984.

---. *Metamorphoses, Books IX-XV*. Trans. Frank Justus Miller. Rev. G. P. Goold. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984.

---. *Ovid's Metamorphoses*: *Translated by Arthur Golding* (1567). Ed. Madeleine Forey. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001.

Payne, Alina A. "Ut poesia architectura: Architectural Criticism circa 1570." In *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*. Ed. Payne et al. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 143-56.

---. *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Petrarca, Francesco. *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* Rime sparse *and Other Lyrics*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976.

Pigman III, G. W. *Grief and English Renaissance Elegy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.

---. "Du Bellay's Ambivalence towards Rome in the *Antiquitez*." In *Rome in the Renaissance*. 321-32.

---. "Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance." *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 1-32.

Pitcher, John. "Essays, Works and Small Poems: Divulging, Publishing and Augmenting the Elizabethan Poet, Samuel Daniel." In *The Renaissance Text: Theory, Editing, Textuality*. Ed. Andrew Murphy. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000.

Pliny the Elder. *The Historie of the World*. Trans. Philemon Holland. London, 1601.

Prendergast, Thomas. "Spenser's Phantastic History, *The Ruines of Time*, and the Invention of Medievalism." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 175-96.

Prescott, Anne Lake. "Spenser (Re)Reading Du Bellay: Chronology and Literary Response." In *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography*. Ed. Judith H. Anderson et al. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1996. 131-45.

---. "Du Bellay in Renaissance England: Recent Work on Translation and Response." *Œuvres et Critiques* 20 (1995): 121-28.

---. *French Poets and the English Renaissance: Studies in Fame and Transformation.* New Haven: Yale UP, 1978.

Price, Hereward T. "Like Himself." *Review of English Studies* 16 (1940): 178-81

Puttenham, George. *The Art of English Poesy by George Puttenham: A Critical Edition*. Ed. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007.

Quint, David. *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature: Versions of the Source*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1983.

Rambuss, Richard. *Spenser's Secret Career*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993.

Ramsey, P. A., ed. *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*. Binghamton: MRTS, 1982.

Raphael, and Baldassare Castiglione. "The Letter to Pope Leo X." In *Palladio's Rome: A Translation of Andrea Palladio's Two Guidebooks to Rome*. Trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks. New Haven: Yale UP, 2006. 177-92.

Rasmussen, Carl J. "'How Weak Be the Passions of Woefulness': Spenser's *Ruines of Time*." *Spenser Studies* 2 (1981): 159-81.

Rebhorn, Wayne A. *The Emperor of Men's Minds: Literature and the Renaissance \ Discourse of Rhetoric*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995.

---. "Du Bellay's Imperial Mistress: *Les Antiquitez de Rome* as Petrarchist Sonnet Sequence." *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 609-22.

Rees, Joan. *Samuel Daniel: A Critical and Biographical Study*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1964.

Rhodes, Neil. *Shakespeare and the Origins of English*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004.

Sacks, Peter M. *The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre from Spenser to Yeats*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1985.

Sagaser, Elizabeth Harris. "Sporting the While: Carpe Diem and the Cruel Fair in Samuel Daniel's *Delia* and the *Complaint of Rosamond*." *Exemplaria* 10 (1998): 145-70.

Schalkwyk, David. *Speech and Performance in Shakespeare's Sonnets and Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Scodel, Joshua. *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991.

Seronsy, Cecil. *Samuel Daniel*. New York: Twayne, 1967.

---. "The Doctrine of Cyclical Recurrence and Some Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel." *Studies in Philology* 54 (1957): 387-407.

Shakespeare, William. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Poems and Sonnets*. Ed. Colin Burrow. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.

---. *Othello*. Ed. E. A. J. Honigmann. London: Thomson, 1999.

---. *The Riverside Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (2nd ed.). Ed. G. Blakemore Evans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.

---. *The Sonnets* (2nd ed.). Ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. Cambridge: Cambridge UP,

1996.

---. *William Shakespeare: The Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint*. Ed. John Kerrigan. London: Penguin, 1986.

---. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Ed. Stephen Booth. New Haven: Yale UP, 1977.

Sherlock, Peter. *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

Sherman, William H. "On the Threshold: Architecture, Paratext, and Early Print Culture." In *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*. Ed. Sabrina Alcorn Baron et al. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2007. 67-81.

Shute, John. *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*. London, 1563.

Sidney, Sir Philip. *An Apologie for Poetrie*. In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. 1.148-207.

Smith, Barbara Herrnstein. *Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968.

Smith, Bruce R. "Sermons in Stones: Shakespeare and Renaissance Sculpture." *Shakespeare Studies* 17 (1985): 1-23.

Smith, G. Gregory, ed. *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. 2 vols. London: Oxford UP, 1904.

Soowthern, John. *Pandora* (1584). Published for the Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia UP, 1938.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Ed. A. C. Hamilton. Harlow: Pearson, 2007.

---. *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*. Ed. William A. Oram et al. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989.

---. *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition: The Minor Poems*. Ed. Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Henry Gibbons Lotspeich. 2 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1947.

Spiller, Michael R. G. *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Stapleton, M. L. "Spenser, the *Antiquitez de Rome*, and the Development of the English Sonnet Form." *Comparative Literature Studies* 27 (1990): 259-74.

Stinger, Charles L. *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1998 (1985).

Stoichita, Victor I. *The Pygmalion Effect: From Ovid to Hitchcock*. Trans. Alison Anderson. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008.

Strong, Roy. *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*. 3 vols. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995.

---. *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.

Summit, Jennifer. *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008.

Sullivan, Garrett A., Jr. "Voicing the Young Man: Memory, Forgetting, and Subjectivity in the Procreation Sonnets." In *A Companion to Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Ed. Michael Schoenfeldt. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007. 331-42.

Tassi, Marguerite. "O'erpicturing Apelles: Shakespeare's Paragone with Painting in *Antony and Cleopatra*." In Antony and Cleopatra*: New Critical Essays*. Ed. Sara Munson Deats. New York: Routledge, 2005. 291-307.

Thomas, William. *The History of Italy*. Ed. George B. Parks. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1963.

Trapp, J. B. "The Poet Laureate: Rome, *Renovatio* and *Translatio Imperii*." In *Rome in the Renaissance*. 93-130.

Tuke, Thomas. *A Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women*. London, 1616.

van Es, Bart. *Spenser's Forms of History*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.

Vendler, Helen. *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999.

Vickers, Nancy J. "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme." *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): 265-79.

Virgil. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough. Rev. G. P. Goold. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1999.

Vitruvius. *On Architecture*. Ed. and trans. Frank Granger. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1931.

Wall, Wendy. *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993.

Warner, Marina. *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. Berkeley: University of California, 1985.

Webbe, William. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*. In *Elizabethan Critical Essays*. 1.226-302.

Weever, John. *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (facsimile rpt.). Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1979.

Weiss, Roberto. *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. New York: Humanities, 1969.

Wells-Cole, Anthony. *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997.

West, William. "Less Well-Wrought Urns: Henry Vaughan and the Decay of the Poetic Monument." *ELH* 75 (2008): 197-217.

Williamson, C. F. "The Design of Daniel's *Delia*." *Review of English Studies* 19 (1968): 251-60.

Wilson, Thomas. *The Art of Rhetoric*. Ed. Peter E. Medine. University Park: Penn State UP, 1994.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922.

Wotton, Sir Henry. *The Elements of Architecture by Sir Henry Wotton: A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition (London, 1624)*. Ed. Frederick Hard. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1968.

Yarwood, Doreen. *The Architecture of Britain*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.

Zeiger, Melissa F. *Beyond Consolation: Death, Sexuality, and the Changing Shapes of Elegy*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997.